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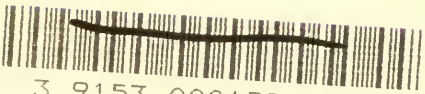

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THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

NIHIL OBSTAT

Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P.
Fr. Robert Bracey, O.P.

4 *August* 1920.

NIHIL OBSTAT

C. Schut, D.D., Censor Deputatus.

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Edm. Can. Surmont, Vicarius Generalis.

Westmonasterii, die 14 Januarii 1921.

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE CHISWICK PRESS

JOHN SIFREWAS, O.P. (ABOUT A.D. 1400), OFFERING HIS ILLUMINATED LECTIONARY TO LORD LOVEL OF TICHMARSH

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THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

BY BEDE JARRETT, O.P.

NEW YORK, CINCINNATI, CHICAGO

BENZIGER BROTHERS

PRINTERS TO THE HOLY APOSTOLIC SEE | PUBLISHERS OF BENZIGER'S MAGAZINE

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Printed in Great Britain.

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TO

ERNEST BARKER

MY MASTER AND MY FRIEND

INTRODUCTION

IT will be immediately apparent to any real student of history how very cursory a survey of English Dominican life this volume is. But all I would desire for it is that under its inspiration some such student, with fuller leisure and ampler opportunity, should compile a more detailed and more accurate account of this English Province of the Order of S. Dominic, up till now so curiously ignored.

I must acknowledge here my gratitude for patient help and suggestion to Father Walter Gumbley, O.P.

BEDE JARRETT, O.P.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATIONS

SAINT DOMINIC was the first to establish a religious Order in the modern sense of the word. Earlier indeed than he, Saint Benedict and others had written rules of life that had spread among many abbeys, but these monastic legislators supposed the independence of each house, and allowed to the individual abbot exceedingly wide powers for modifying their regulations. The Cistercian ideal, as propagated especially by Saint Bernard, more nearly resembled our modern notion, for each abbey of the new reform was affiliated to Citeaux, was subject to its abbot, and had to send a representative thither to attend the yearly chapter. This same system of centralized government was accepted by the Canons Regular of Prémontré, and developed in many details. But Saint Dominic went ahead of them all by his establishment of a thoroughly organized society, divided nationally into Provinces, which had their own assemblies, and yet could deliberate at a central chapter wherein the whole Order met. These legislative bodies, the provincial and general chapters, acted through an executive, the Prior Provincial and the Master General, who being elected by these parliaments were answerable to them.

This centralized government enabled the Order to establish itself at will all through Christendom, for it could in its assemblies determine new fields of adventure, and had at its back resources of men and influence such as made success assured. In 1221, at the second General Chapter of the Order (which had been approved by Pope Honorius III on 22 December 1216) held in Bologna under the presidency of Saint Dominic, it was agreed by the friars that two new provinces should be set up, England[1] and Hungary. There had been already some connection between this country and the saint, for at one time he held by papal gift a benefice attached to Saint Oswald's Church, Nostell,[2] in Yorkshire, and had among his first band of disciples one whose name betokens his race, Lawrence the Englishman. Tradition, indeed, asserts that the friar chosen actually to begin the English Province, Gilbert de Fresney, was himself a native of this country; and this gathers some support from the frequency with which the name Fresney appears in the records of Henry III's reign. Apparently de Fresney was a French equivalent for Fraxinetus or Ash.

A very brief account of the coming of the Preaching Friars

[1] Trivet, *Annales* (edited by Thomas Hog, 1845, London), p. 209.
[2] Palmer, *Life of Philip Thomas Howard* (1867, London), p. 14.

to England can be given in the words of an English Dominican born within a generation from the date:

"At the second Chapter General of the Order of Friar Preachers which was held at Bologna under the blessed Dominic, there were sent into England Friar Preachers to the number of thirteen, having as their Prior Friar Gilbert of Fresney. In company of the venerable Father, Lord Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, they reached Canterbury. After they had presented themselves to Lord Stephen, the Archbishop, and he had understood that they were Preachers, he straightway ordered Gilbert to preach before him in a certain church where he was himself that day to have preached. The prelate was so edified by the Friar's sermon that henceforward during all his episcopate he favoured and promoted the Order and its work.

"Leaving Canterbury the Friars came to London on the feast of Saint Lawrence, and finally reached Oxford on the feast of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin to whose honour they built their oratory.

"They held the schools, which are now called Saint Edward's, and settled in that parish for some time, but finding that they had there no room for expanding they removed to another site given them by the King, where now outside the city-walls they still dwell."[1]

It is impossible not to see in this first settlement at Oxford the purpose for which Saint Dominic had sent them to England, for it was part of his scheme of preaching to establish priories in the University towns. It will be seen when we come to trace the actual preaching work accomplished in England that the ideals of the saint were revolutionary in the West of Christendom, and had up to his own time resulted always in disorder and heresy, for his whole ambition was to set going the detailed exposition of Catholic faith, and spread its intelligent appreciation over all the Church. In what sense this was really proper to Saint Dominic will appear later, but it helped to make him insist on a university education for all his brethren. Even the little band of seven that grouped itself round him in Toulouse, men chiefly in middle life, were taken off to the theological lectures of an English professor there, Alexander de Stavensby (afterwards in England, as Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, their most devoted champion), and when later the discipleship was scattered over Europe it was sent to Paris, Bologna, Rome, etc., to attend the schools as well as to occupy the pulpit. Eventually the friars came themselves to be professors, but this was rather the result of circumstances than of set design, though the alert mind of the founder seized on it and developed the idea. Hence we can be almost sure that Saint Dominic, near to his

[1] Trivet, p. 209.

death, sent his friars to England with the direct intention of their establishment immediately at the university centres of the country.

With Oxford and London as their base the friars gradually spread over England. Sometimes they arrived on invitation of some benefactor, ecclesiastical or lay, sometimes entirely on their own initiation, but with the certainty of finding local patrons as soon as their presence and work became manifest. Matthew Paris,[1] the Benedictine Chronicler whose animus against them is apparent, but who probably had genuine grounds for his vehemence, asserts that they used many devices for the purpose of settling in districts that were populous and would secure them much influence. With rather picturesque humour he describes how they strayed into the domain of the larger abbeys, professing to be merely preaching a passing sermon, and to be willing to leave as soon as that was over, but they invariably grew so ill that they had to linger on in the houses of those that sheltered them, and set up altars secretly at which they said mass in a very low tone, until people had grown accustomed to their presence, when they boldly started to build a church, and when interfered with retorted by saying evil things about the lives of the monks. He gives a definite instance in the case of Dunstable,[2] where we have a great deal of evidence from the royal records by which to control and estimate at its value his accusation. Perhaps he was referring more particularly to country places where on the whole the monastic influence was most strong, for in the towns there is abundant evidence of their instant success, and the open way in which their priories were founded and benefactors came forward to their support. The great industrial centres had most need of them, and gave the chief opportunity for their distinctive work of preaching, so that Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bristol, Norwich, saw them within a few years of their arrival. Bishops like Stavensby of Lichfield, des Roches of Winchester, Grosseteste of Lincoln, Mauclerk of Carlisle, actively assisted their foundation throughout their dioceses, and high statesmen like Hubert de Burgh, or nobles like the de Montforts of Leicester helped to spread their popularity. In England, whether they began in this way through their own energy or local benefactors, in nearly every case the royal interest in their success was supreme. There is hardly one Dominican house in all the Kingdom that did not look to one or other of the Plantagenets as its effective founder, for even if the site was not a royal gift, as it very often was, then lime or timber or stone from the domain of the Crown arrived to push forward the building. Sometimes there were gifts of money, or the debts were

[1] Matthew Paris, *Chron. Major* (Roll Series, 1876), vol. iii, p. 332.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 742.

heroically taken over by the already impoverished Exchequer, or definite amounts were given for definite purposes. The actual payments were in many cases quite small, but their frequency enables us to understand the terrible confusion in which the royal finances from Henry III's time onward were involved.

Canterbury is an excellent example of the wholesale way in which the King went to work. In 1247[1] and in 1253[2] he gave seventy marks in all to satisfy the Priory's creditors; in 1256[3] he paid one hundred and sixty shillings for stained glass windows for the church; in 1258[4] he added £32 for some buildings in honour of his patron Saint Edward; in 1259[5] he ordered his officials to find £20 to erect a kitchen and wall near it. The house was partly built over a stream, and this accounts for further sums laid out on repairing walls and for making wharfs, while the church was practically rebuilt at the royal expense in 1243,[6] with the detailed addition of a winding stair, presumably from the dormitory to the choir. This is no isolated case, but could be paralleled in the history of almost every Dominican house in England.

The Earl of Kent was their first benefactor in London by presenting them with land in Holborn, which he had bought expressly for the purpose.[7] On it there seem to have already stood some buildings, and these were adapted by the friars to their own life. The church was a later addition, so that they probably began by officiating in the neighbouring churches. But the list of records of gifts is monotonous, whether taken simply from the royal exchequer, or from the wills and bequests of the period. Through it all there is a persistent stream of royal favours. Oaks, free-stone and lime were the chief needs of the friars, which implies that whatever was the original edifice then standing, it was wholly inadequate for the purposes of the growing community. In 1243 the actual number of the Dominicans in the Holborn Priory is given, for on 9 December Henry III ordered that eighty habits and eighty pairs of shoes should be presented to the Preachers of Holborn as a seasonable Christmas gift. Clothing vies with food and fuel as one of the chief forms in which the royal bounty was expressed. Simultaneously with

[1] P.R.O. *Rot. de Liberate*, 31 Hen. III, m. 10; also 32 Hen. III, m. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, 37 Hen. III, m. 6; also *ibid.*, 37 Hen. III, m. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, 40 Hen. III, m. 3.
[4] P.R.O. *Rot. Pat.*, 42 Hen. III, m. 2; *Rot. de Liberate*, 43 Hen. III, m. 8.
[5] P.R.O. *Rot. de Liberate*, 44 Hen. III, m. 10.
[6] *Ibid.*, 28 Hen. III, m. 16.
[7] *Reliquary*, vol. xvii (July and Oct. 1876) gives the history of the foundation of the Holborn Priory. For the Priory at Ludgate see *Merry England*, Nos. 72-77 (April-Sept. 1889); *Archaeologia*, vol. lxiii, pp. 57-84; Clapham and Godfrey, *Some Famous Buildings* (1913), pp. 239-269.

their work, Henry himself was engaged on some buildings of his own at Westminster, and occasionally was so hard pressed that he had to borrow from the friars the lime and stone he had given them, though he took care in all the cases of which we have record diligently to repay them. From the materials required in his ornamentation of the Abbey he gave over to the Dominicans "five figures of kings carved in free-stone and a pedestal for a figure of the Virgin for making their acqueduct." This artistic conduit appears to have been re-erected in Ludgate, where the friars had to move in 1275, as their own site in Holborn had become too straitened for their work, and the huge extent of their building. Here in Ludgate the whole labour had to be begun all over again, but Edward I was at least as generous as his father had been. Together with his queen Eleanor and Kilwardby, the Dominican Archbishop of Canterbury, he was really responsible for the new Priory and Church, and was looked upon as its founder.

But the climax of royal generosity to the English Dominicans was reached under Edward II in his generosity to the Noviciate house of the Province at King's Langley in Hertfordshire.[1] The Priory had been begun by the Oxford friars, who secured a grant of a site from the Crown; to this the King desired personally to add an endowment, but their sturdy independence forbade them to accept it. In the end Edward appealed to the Pope, who seems to have decided that the friars were in the right, for from that date no more is heard of the King's designs in that direction. Foiled, however, in the matter of the endowment he continued to bestow frequent alms on the house, which indeed in consequence changed its name from Chiltern Langley into King's Langley. It had become almost entirely a royal foundation. The reason for this especial protection was, in the words of the Patent Rolls, Edward's personal devotion "to the glorious confessor of Christ, Blessed Dominic"; but in a moment of sudden peril the King had made a vow to found at Langley a perpetual house of prayer for the souls of his Plantagenet ancestors, and this added a new stimulus to his generosity. The final motive, and probably the most weighty in his eyes, was that here later was brought the body of his best and dearest favourite, Piers Gaveston. This young courtier, handsome and highly amusing, had developed a taste for epigram, and had been endowed with the fatal gift of coining exquisite nicknames. While thus enabling Edward to get more pleasure out of his council than otherwise he could possibly have obtained, Piers won at the same time the hatred of the barons who resented his wit as frivolous, and his neat descriptions of themselves as an attack on the solemnity of Parliament. By marriage he had acquired relationship with the King, as his wife was Margaret, the

[1] *Reliquary*, vol. xix (July and Oct. 1878, April 1879).

daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, whose wife was the King's sister, and by royal grant he had entered as Earl of Cornwall into the first rank of the baronage. But this only added to the embittered feelings of his rivals, who preferred to look upon the young man as the abettor of Edward's folly and extravagance.

When, therefore, he fell into the hands of the nobility they at once proceeded to his trial, and beheaded him near Warwick on 19 June 1312. By chance a Dominican friar was in attendance, and knowing, as all England knew, the devotion of the King to the young man, he picked up the head and carried it in his hood to Edward. The body was then taken to the Dominican Priory at Oxford, where the King and his niece lavished every attention on it. Clerks were paid for to watch and pray by the side of the hearse, and Masses were said both there and in the London Priory for the repose of the soul of the victim. Every year, on the anniversary of the death, some gift or adornment testified to the King's remembrance. Foolish and vain and extravagant, Edward may well in his liberal generosity have been, though this has been much exaggerated by past historians, for a good deal of his trouble was due to the hopeless state in which the royal finances had been left by Edward I; but with all his defects of character he had no trace in him of ingratitude. Piers Gaveston had been faithful and loyal (save that he spoke rather calumniously of his mother-in-law, who was the King's sister), his personal charm had been of real joy to the young King, whose boyishness must have been terribly depressed by the bullying and boorishness of the nobles; he had been the one ray of light in the midst of a great deal of troubled darkness, so that Edward missed him and mourned for him till his own terrible ending.

For three years the body lay at the Dominicans at Oxford, where each day a Mass was celebrated, and the Office of the dead said by clerks and the friars. At each corner of the hearse, where the embalmed body rested, was the figure of an angel and an evangelist, while all round it burnt ever lighted candles. In the quaint style of that age, besides these guardian spirits and saints was placed a candle standard shaped as a Judas to represent, apparently, the enemies who had betrayed him. But this dark shadow and the daily presence of the unburied corpse does not seem at all to have lessened the appetites of the clerks who at the Royal expense sojourned with the friars. Receipts are still extant among the Patent Rolls, day by day records of the fare per head. It is a gorgeous list, so immense as to read like some stately catalogue from Homer: beef, mutton, poultry, larks, eggs, mallard, stock fish, haddock, ray, codling, plaice, eels, pike, roach, herrings, oysters, apples, nuts, rice, honey, pears.

Then for household items are firewood, charcoal, and candles; for their horses, hay and straw; for their drink, ale and wine; for their servants, wages; for the friars, a daily offering of 2*d*. Sometimes visitors came to dine, and thus relieved the monotony of existence and withdrew thoughts from the dreary business for which they lingered in Oxford. But the King had to be answerable for this, and when the Canons of Saint Frideswide (now Christ Church Cathedral) sat down to the table bottles of wine were added, which debited a further 10*d*. from the Exchequer at Westminster. The bill ran altogether into hundreds of pounds; but the King still diminished in no way the pomp and circumstance of his grief.

Meanwhile preparations were being made at Langley to receive the body. Carpenters and chandlers were paid for various journeys and work; grooms and horses were perpetually on the move; but the body still lay at Oxford. At last, on 24 December, the pageant began. A chariot left London on that day, and two black horses to draw it; five grooms and their five steeds evidently formed the cortège. At Uxbridge a breakdown occurred, and the chariot cost 5*s*. 3*d*. to repair; then a halt was made at Wycombe for Christmas Day's festivities. The next day the procession restarted, but it had suffered (why, we are not told though can shrewdly guess) the loss of one horse and two grooms who spent the hours ensuing on Christmas night ill and unable to proceed. At Tetsworth an iron bolt was jolted out of the chariot, and this for its renewal added 1*s*. 10*d*. to the carriage bill, but without further mishap Oxford was reached upon Friday, 27 December. The week-end was quietly enjoyed, so that upon the Monday they began their return journey, having with them now the body. Through Thame they passed to Great Missenden and thence to St. Albans, where three days' halt was made to allow the King, who was keeping Christmas at Windsor, to reach the Priory he had so richly endowed in remembrance of his ill-fated young friend. On 3 January the body was once more covered with balm and rich garments, and lowered to its final resting place in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, and Bath and Wells. Abbots and monks and friars came also in great numbers; while, strangely, some of the baronage made a show of sympathy; the Earls of Norfolk (the King's brother) and Pembroke (who represented a middle school of politicians, half-way between the extremists and the King), Badlesmere, the Despensers, Henry Beaumont, John Handlo the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Mayor of London, Sir William Sage, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, and other officials who belonged heart and soul to the King's party.

To a student of the constitutional history of the reign the list is of real importance, for it shows how already there were rallying to the King many who had so far sided with that impossible constitutionalist, Thomas of Lancaster. Recently it has been stated that Badlesmere and Pembroke made their alliance of moderate Ordainers in their joint embassy to Avignon during December 1316.[1] But fully twelve months before they had found some sort of reconciliation round the grave of Gaveston. His death and burial had proved more effective than his life in ensuring to his royal friend the real rule of his people. It was little wonder that Edward regarded the Langley Priory as a spot particularly dear to him. His generosity provided for the support first of 45 friars, then of 55, and before 1314 was out of 100, for which he drew from the already exhausted Exchequer the annual sum of 500 marks. These friars were all bound to celebrate Mass for the repose of the soul of Piers Gaveston. When Edward III's advisers sought to economize, they cut down the number of friars from 100 to 13; but when the King came into his own he increased his donations till 40 could be provided for, and this Richard II turned into 60, which continued to be the number till the reign of Henry VIII.

Besides these fixed charges, which made this friary the richest in all England, Edward II was continually adding smaller benefactions in memory of his dead favourite. Each anniversary meant further offerings for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, and usually an additional course at meal-time, while several times the King with his own hands came to lay a pall over the tomb. In 1320 it was a Turkey cloth, in 1324 a piece of red silk decorated with golden embroidery, in 1325 two made of cloth of gold, one red, and one white.

Edward III further continually financed the building and repairing, and thus converted the Priory entirely into a royal foundation, wherein for the original intention of prayers daily offered for Piers Gaveston were now substituted prayers for the King and the royal house of Plantagenet, living and dead. Alien priories had to contribute to the upkeep of the extensive line of buildings. Royal manors were charged with the same burden. The stone quarries of Wheatly and the forests of Shotover paid in kind for improvements and extensions. Wine and ale arrive periodically, for which purpose no doubt on 2 April 1377 Edward III presented his maze cup, called Edward, and thirty-nine other cups, which were never to be alienated from the Priory. Richard II, whose character and fortunes so nearly resembled those of his great-grandfather, was as devoted as he had been to the Dominican Order. His elder brother, the first-born son of the Black Prince, was buried in the Langley Church, and this memory may have drawn the

[1] T. F. Tout, *Place of Edward II in English History* (1904), p. 112.

King here, for his presence is continually noted at the Priory. He spent Christmas here in 1395, paid 40*s.* for a sermon preached to him by John Deeping, a Dominican, afterwards Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and on the feast of the Epiphany offered a noble of gold, with frankincense and myrrh. At the end his own broken body, done to death mysteriously like Edward II's, was brought here for burial, though Henry V eventually translated the remains to the Abbey of Westminster. Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, whom Shakespeare, in his "Richard II" so sympathetically describes, was also buried here, surviving his royal nephew only eight months. Over his remains was erected an altar-tomb of black marble and alabaster, but no recumbent effigy appears to have adorned it.

Thus through 200 years the foundation fared, losing considerably at the end of its time, and dwindling in numbers. At the dissolution only the prior subscribed the royal supremacy, so that the size of the community cannot be gauged. Indeed so poor had the house become, despite the wonderfully long list of generous gifts made by each succeeding sovereign, that Ingworth, the last prior, when inviting Cromwell to the Priory, lamented "suche pore logeying and provysyon as we have for yo' mast' chype and yowers," and could only send as some sort of propitiatory offering "a pore Suffolke chese and halfe a dosen conys."[1]

Again, Dartford Convent[2] was another foundation royally endowed. The idea of establishing a house in England for Dominican nuns seems to have originated with a vow of Queen Eleanor of Castile, though the first records we have of any attempt really to make it definite date from the reign of her son, Edward II. First in 1318, through two friars, Richard of Birton and Andrew Aslakeby, he endeavoured to secure papal permission for transferring the Dominicans from their Priory at Guildford and putting nuns in their place, because no doubt the King felt the difficulty of having to fulfil his mother's vow, and looked about for the least expensive way of doing so. But the Guildford friars protested and appealed to the charters of their foundress, Queen Eleanor of Provence, whose benefaction would necessarily be injured by her grandson. Rome upheld their appeal. Still Edward was determined, with his exchequer all disordered, not to add if he could help it to his financial burden, and thought of his own magnificent friary of King's Langley. As he was the founder, he would be injuring no one's bequest but his own if he were to turn out the friars from here and substitute sisters for them. Again, therefore, Birton and Aslakeby journeyed to Rome in January 1319 to

[1] Ellis, *Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Henry VIII*, Series II, vol. xix, no. 24 (1827-1846).

[2] *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxv (1878), and vol. xxxix (1882).

propose this to the Holy See; but this, too, for some reason the Pope equally rejected. In despair of any such way of economizing over his mother's vow, and tired of his previous ambassadors, in 1321 he sent Hugh of Offenton and John of Cleye, both Dominicans, to petition for licence to erect a Nunnery anywhere. The Pope, by this time equally tired, agreed to this vague request and as vaguely answered it with a brief. But death prevented Edward from ever doing anything himself.

His son in turn deliberately bound himself to observe his grandmother's vow, but waited patiently for some way out of the difficulty. Meanwhile Sir Thomas Wake of Lidell, for purposes of his own, solicited permission from the King to bring over four or six Dominicanesses from Brabant and to found a house for them in England. Edward agreed, and at the same time evidently remembered his earlier vow, and was stimulated to take an interest in the matter himself. Anyway Wake dropped out of the scheme, and instead an idea began to cross the royal mind of a totally new foundation at Dartford. Correspondence over this latter project assumed from 1345 onwards a large place in the recorded letters of Edward, the Bishop and Chapter of Rochester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Vicar of Dartford. By 1349 a site had been found for "the house of our beloved sisters in Christ of the Order of Friar Preachers, which we order to be newly built in that town." There remained, however, this much of Edward II's later proposal, that Dartford Convent in 1351 was put under a body of friars from King's Langley who were to be selected and appointed by the Prior of that Convent. Indeed, the Prior of King's Langley is occasionally described as Prior also of Dartford. Just once, as late, however, as 1415, the nuns protested against the visitation of the Prior and Provincial, but otherwise the relations between friars and sisters seem to have worked out well.

In 1356 certain issues and rents were ordered by Edward to be paid "to the work of the new house and building of the Preaching Nuns of Dartford," so that the convent cannot yet have been finished. Yet it is in that very year that John of Woodruff, King's Confessor, has £20 from the Royal Exchequer for his expenses in bringing over four foreign sisters from France to Dartford. Of these, one named Matilda was made Prioress and ten other English ladies were added to the community. In 1358 an additional pension is made to these original four, so that they evidently are to fare better than the rest. Indeed, in 1363 the King paid all their debts contracted in France; but, as though to quiet their southern gaiety, ominously ordered that within the choir were to be placed four marble slabs for tombs. However, Prioress Matilda managed to keep alive for many years after that. It is difficult to make

out how much of the convent was now complete. In 1358 Friar John of Northampton had £10 a year for life for superintending the building works in erection at Dartford, which might either be taken to imply that the strenuousness of his charge demanded a rewarding pension or that the King fancied the workmen would be likely to outlast the good Friar's life, and even then not be finished. Edward III, however, in his last will implies that all was complete, for an endowment was left for forty nuns in accordance with the vow of Queen Eleanor of Castile. To Richard III it appeared that the house had not been sufficiently built nor properly endowed, and he brought the rents up so as to support a community of sixty, which number presumably lasted on till the Reformation. The names of the Prioress and occasionally even the names of simple nuns are to be met with by sheer chance. In the British Museum is a beautiful copy of St. Bonaventure's "Pricking of Love," carrying this inscription on the first spare leaf: "This book longeth to Dame Alice Braithwait, the Worshipful Prioress of Dartford, Jesu mercy: Pray for the soul of Dame Elizabeth Rede of this place: pray for the soul of Joan Newmarch." Again, Sir John Rudstone, in a will of 1530: "Item I bequeath towards the amendment of the Walls about the monastery of the Nuns of Dartford in the county of Kent, to the intent that the convent of the same will have my soul recommended to their devout prayers, twenty pounds sterling. Item I bequeath unto the lady Prioress of Dartford aforesaid a white habit of 5*s.* every yard thereof. Item I bequeath unto Elizabeth Cresner professed Nun of Dartford aforesaid a habit of cloth of white, the value of 6*s.* 8*d.* every yard thereof. Item I bequeath unto each of Beatrice Marshall, Margaret Mountenay, and Felice, sometime gentlewomen to my lady of Salisbury, now nuns in the said monastery, a white habit of 5*s.* every yard thereof." He evidently thought Elizabeth Cresner, who had character enough later to face as Prioress the whole of the Tudor Court villains, deserved the better dress. So, too, Agnes Parker, the widow of an innkeeper left in 1535 to the friars at Dartford 3*s.* and to "Mother Bolton" a frock. The habit worn was the Augustinian black and white. Of Jane Fisher we find reference in 1481, when the Master-General gave her leave to have a master to instruct her in grammar and the Latin tongue. The class is to be held in the "speak-room" where, from another permission of the General to the same Sister Jane in 1500, we gather there was a grill. When Jane Fane was recommended in 1536 to Cromwell for the office of Prioress she is described as being the most learned of the nuns, the most discreet, and over thirty years of age. But the most important perhaps of all the sisters was Bridget Plantagenet, Edward IV's youngest daughter. After the exciting times

that immediately preceded and followed upon Richard III's usurpation, and after her mother had died, she entered the convent, where her sister, Queen Elizabeth of York, paid a yearly pension for her. Allusions to payments and to the visits of messengers show what alone broke in on the quietness of her life, for she remained just a simple nun till her death in 1517 at the age of thirty-seven. Of the manner of life of these sisters we know little enough, but these two wills that follow suggest the richness and grandeur of their splendid tranquillity. The first indeed does not refer to Dartford, but with the second it suggests some comparisons. In 1498 Joan Bolle[1] left to her daughter, "Alice Oliver, ancress in the Blackfriars of Salisbury, a table cloth of diaper and a towell of diaper and half a dozen napkins of diaper. Item also a pair of sheets, a pair of beads of corall with gawdies of silver and gilt." In 1500 William Millet[2] of Dartford, among other huge benefactions to the convent, mentions: "To my lady prioress of Dartford a powder-box of silver gilt, a salt of silver parcel gilt with the covering, a great carpet to lay under their feet when they shall receive the blessed Sacrament and a hanging of tapestry-work."

The history of these priories has been given at considerable length because it is typical of every other English Dominican foundation. The royal support was greater indeed in these two instances than elsewhere; but in each case it was the Crown that bore a very large share in the upkeep of the friars. The kings one by one had their personal preferences for the way the offerings should be made; but in whichever way and by whichever king the royal offerings still made up the chief source of income. Henry III generally made a present of oaks at very frequent intervals, sometimes even specifying their purpose, as for firewood[3] or building[4] or wharfs[5] or boats.[6] But the value of his gifts was determined by the circumstances of the friars, for it was during his reign that most of the houses were being built, and even after their construction repairs were at first extraordinarily frequent. Churches were erected and then discovered to be wholly inadequate for the huge crowds of people that attended. Put up almost on the very arrival of the friars, these buildings had to be perpetually altered, perpetually enlarged. As early as 1241[7] Canterbury had to increase its church, and at Cambridge in 1240[8] the graveyard had become too narrow for the many

[1] Wills, P.C.C., 23 Horne.
[2] *Ibid.*, 18 Moone.
[3] P.R.O. *Rot. Claus*, 15 Hen. III, m. 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, 16 Hen. III, m. 10.
[5] *Ibid.*, 21 Ed. I, m. 5.
[6] *Ibid.*, 21 Hen. III, m. 10.
[7] P.R.O. *Rot. de Liberate*, 25 Hen. III, m. 10.
[8] P.R.O. *Rot. Claus*, 24 Hen. III, m. 13.

dead who were laid to rest within echo of the chant and prayers of the Dominicans. For all these reasons building materials were the most usual, because useful, form in which the royal alms were made. Edward I on the whole set to work to consolidate his father's foundations, so that he was not so often called upon for wood or stone or lime. His charities most ordinarily consisted of pensions to Priories or to individual friars who had acted as confessors to him or to one or other of the royal children, or who had been used for embassies to foreign courts. But another way in which this thorough Englishman gave his alms was in food to the various communities close by whom he happened to be passing. Sometimes he would pay for three days' food, sometimes for one. The actual sums are entered in the Patent Rolls, and also in many cases the number of friars in each house so provided for. It appears by these that for 4*d.* a mediaeval friar could furnish himself with a day's monastic fare. Edward II, besides his princely benefaction to the great Priory at King's Langley, most ordinarily followed his father's custom and gave alms in kind. Edward III, especially at the commencement of his reign, displayed even in his charities his personally characteristic love for pomp and show. In his account books are noted time after time moneys paid to the friars of this Priory or that for coming out to meet him in solemn procession. His largess followed his favourite passion. Despite all his shortcomings, Edward's grandson, the second Richard, usually saw life from a higher standpoint than his predecessor. Weak he certainly was, in that he did not coerce his turbulent barons; but courage he always possessed, as his happy bearing to the revolting peasants of 1389 abundantly proved. Double-dealing he then and at other times proved to be, but his advisers, too, especially the very baronial party he so hated, must bear part of the shame of his fault, and especially of his broken oaths, for he violated his sworn promise not in his own interests, but in theirs. Yet he was genuinely interested in religious things, said daily the Divine Office according to the Dominican rite, and struggled as best he could, though frequently with little success, to live up to his faith. Consequently his way of benefaction was to bestow alms and offerings at Mass, and to give liberally to the friars who preached to him. Sermons he appears to have loved, for wherever he moved in his royal progress he had some Dominican or other to come to him and propound the mysteries of faith. This, too, was the fashion both of Henry IV and Henry VI. Repeated gifts of money are noted in the royal accounts for sermons preached before the king at one or other of his palaces or hunting lodges. So soldierly a sovereign as Henry V did not patronize the court preacher. There seems no record of his having made an offering for any such purpose, though

he confirmed all the pensions of his predecessors, and thus in reality was as generous to the friars as his ancestors had been. Edward IV, Henry VII, and Henry VIII continued the plan of Henry V, gave liberally in State pensions, but did little else in the way of personal gifts to the building or upkeep or general support of house or church. No doubt the cause of this may well have been that already the country had quite as many religious houses as it required, quite as many at least as it could support. Indeed, this support sometimes itself languished or was withheld.

Still, even in 1505[1] we find a will, in which Richard Smewen, "citezein and merchaunt haberdassher of the Citie of London" bequeaths "to the freer precheors in london callid the blakke freers toward the buildyng of their cloister, vil, vjs, viijd," which implies alterations and substantial improvements still continuing to the sixteenth century. More curious than this is a petition of the Dominican friars of Guildford[2] to Henry VIII in 1537, after the king has actually broken with Rome, asking him, after the fashion of his royal predecessors, to assist them with some permanent grant. Moreover, itself a curious comment on the supposed Protestantism of Jane Seymour, they affirm the Priory of Guildford to be now "your most gracious Queen Jane's foundation," though it had originally been due in the first instance to Queen Eleanor, the wife of Henry III.[3] The friars quite openly declared that charity and alms were no longer so plentiful as they had been in past times, and asked for some sort of endowment, in return for which, of course, they will continue to pray for "your most princely and honourable estate to reign, prosper, and to endure. Amen." The King closed the royal record of benefactions, so conspicuous in England during the reigns of the last Plantagenets, with the sum of £5.[4]

But it should not be supposed that the success of the friars, the welcome they so instantly received in England, was of such a kind as to save them from all molestations, or to secure for them an unassailable position in the kingdom. Matthew Paris has already been quoted for his denunciation of their encroachments on monastic rights and privileges. Coming straight from abroad, and high in favour with Pope and King, the Dominicans certainly appear not to have been altogether tactful. They claimed the right to preach and to confess without any leave of parish priest or bishop, and based these claims on papal decrees, which in their literal significance could easily bear this interpretation. But the disputes were so endless that the Holy See was forced in 1301 to recall all its privileges

[1] Wills, P.C.C., 37 Holgrave.
[2] *Historical Documents* (*Exchequer*), 1st Series, No. 350.
[3] *Religuary*, New Series, vol. i (Jan. 1887), p. 8.
[4] Nicholas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII, etc.*, p. 151.

and make the permission of bishop and rector essential for the active work of the ministry.[1]

The other religious orders, older and already established, viewed with certain misgivings these new institutes, which took up a form of religious life already condemned officially by their rules. To the Benedictine, stability or life-long residence in one abbey was itself as sacred a means to perfection as chastity or poverty or obedience; exceptions might be suffered for the purposes of missionary enterprise, but these were frankly recognized to be exceptions requiring especial sanctions. For the friars this was not the exception, but the rule. They looked upon themselves as spiritual free-lances, tilting all the world over, from west to east, at every form of error and in defence of every truth. No monastic enclosure forbade their free movements, the very choral obligation of chaunted office was by the express command of Saint Dominic to be sacrificed whenever it prevented study or preaching. They took as their boast what Matthew Paris used to say of them with scorn: "That the whole earth was their cell and the ocean was their cloister" ("Chron. Maj.," v, 529).

Their first energy drew to them the better kind of folk, who really desired spiritual awakening, and this meant in the end that the financial status of the other orders suffered. In 1285[2] the Abbot and Chapter of Citeaux complained that since the Dominicans and Franciscans had gone to Scarborough in the face of papal and royal prohibitions the revenues of their church there, which had been given them expressly that it might provide for a three days' maintenance of their Chapter-General, had so diminished that it could hardly support them for one day.

At Dunstable we find the Augustinian Canons bitterly opposing the entry of the Dominicans. Henry III asked them kindly to help these favourites of his, and wrote to thank them on 27 October 1259[3] for their welcome of the friars; but under the same date in their Chronicle we find them angrily protesting against this unfair rivalry, and in 1287[4] they purchased through Thomas their janitor a messuage precisely in order to prevent the Dominicans from enlarging their homestead. But although this establishing of the friars, however displeasing to the Canons, had been done with the approval of the King, who had actually written to the Canons on their behalf, it is described by Matthew Paris as a secret undertaking, an underhand performance, "a secret erection of an altar and saying of mass."[5] This instance at least, where we have definite knowledge that it was no such thing,

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii, p. 257. [2] Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. i, p. 661.
[3] P.R.O. *Rot. Pat.*, 43 Hen. III, m. 10.
[4] *Annales de Dunstaplia* (R. S. Annales Monastici, III), p. 336.
[5] *Chron. Major*, vol. v, p. 742.

makes suspect a good deal of the criticism of this picturesque chronicler. He had rumour only to go by, and rumour that reached Benedictine Abbeys was not often favourable to the friars. Exceptions there were like Abbot Thomas and the monks of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, who were received to the fellowship of the Order by the Master-General (Aymeric of Placentia) in 1307;[1] they shared in all the merits of the Dominicans, and at death the Abbot would be entitled to special prayers on account of his "especial love and friendship."

The monks of Bristol objected to the Jacobin friars (a title given to the Dominicans from their great church in Paris dedicated to St. James, from which later, as the scene of their assembly, the terrible Jacobin club got its name) settling there in 1230,[2] and tried to prevent the Bishop of Worcester, in whose diocese the city lay, from consecrating their church, or from allowing burials and offerings to be made there. The bishop steadily refused to support the monks, and made the Dominicans welcome through all the country that was under his spiritual jurisdiction. Even with the Franciscans there was occasional bickering, as when at Oxford they quarrelled over their respective observance of Poverty, disputed as to which of the rival orders should have precedence in the University processions. The Franciscans naïvely demanded the right to the first place because of their greater humility.[3]

Sometimes, however, the Dominicans themselves, when once established, forbade the arrival of other friars. Thus in 1386[4] a royal precept ordained that their privilege should be safeguarded, whereby no mendicant should build nearer to them than 300 ells, a privilege threatened at Thetford; while perhaps they were answerable for Bishop Stavensby's refusal to allow the Franciscans to settle in Chester[5] in 1236, lest their arrival should imperil the already existing Dominican foundation there. Bishop Grosseteste, as an intimate friend to both Orders, wrote to protest, asserting that both flourished more vigorously when existing side by side, since no doubt their near neighbourhood spurred each to fuller activity. Even the Carmelites fell across them when, in 1370, John Stokes, O.P.,[6] a Suffolk man, attacked them in Cambridge, denying their antiquity and challenging their assertion that Elias was their founder. But he was always a contentious fellow, for though he was got out of England to save unpleasantness, he started another quarrel in Cologne[7] over some theological controversy, and found that place also too hot for him.

[1] Twysden (1682), *Chronica W. Thorn*, col. 2008.
[2] *Annals of Tewkesbury* (R. S. Annales Monastici, I), p. 78.
[3] A. G. Little, *Grey Friars of Oxford* (1892), p. 75; 320-335.
[4] P.R.O. *Rot. Pat.*, 10 Rich. II, p. 1, m. 3.
[5] *Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae* (R.S.), p. 120.
[6] Echard, *Scriptores Ord. Præd.*, vol. i, p. 674.
[7] Fontana, *Monumenta Dominicana*, p. 252.

REMAINS OF BLACKFRIARS, CANTERBURY

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The trouble with the bishops was apparently completely allayed by the Constitution of Pope Boniface VIII in 1301,[1] whereby it was ordained that for the hearing of confessions permission was required from the bishop, and for preaching the leave of the parish priest, who could also claim a quarter of every charitable offering made to the friars. On 13 June of the previous year, in the provincial Synod of Canterbury, the English bishops insisted further that they would only license such friars as they had personally examined, and henceforward episcopal registers are full of the names of friars so licensed, with full powers to absolve even in reserved cases. Foreign Dominicans in England came under this regulation: thus Bishop Wayneflete of Winchester, on 27 February 1468, authorized Jeremias of Bugella, a Lombard friar, to hear the confessions of the large Lombard community settled at the great port of Southampton.[2]

With the religious, who were rightly or wrongly jealous of them, little could be done in the way of peace. Time, however, healed that wound, for the friars eventually became as wedded as ever the monks had been to privilege, upholding the rights of settled and established communities. This, however, was not till their quarrels with secular and regular clergy had done much to lower the Church in the eyes of the people. That sharp, though not dishonest critic, the author of *Piers Plowman*, pointed the moral at the end of the fourteenth century:

> Unless they and the Church keep closer together
> The most mischief e'er made will be mounting up fast.

Even the people had their ground of quarrel with the friars. With them, however, it was no question of teaching, for the tendency of all the mendicants was in favour of the class from which they had sprung. Many Dominicans were, indeed, of good families, but on the whole it was an aristocracy, as they boasted, rather of talent than of blood. Cleverness and not heraldic quarterings gave the entry to their cloister; hence far more than the monks they were recruited from the poorer, rural and town, populations. Therefore we find them heading some of the bands of revolting peasants in 1389,[3] preaching a levelling doctrine on the rights and duties of property which both the author of *Piers Plowman* and Wyclifte agreed to be the real cause (and not Lollardy) of that great revolt. These two both saw in scholasticism, in Plato and Aristotle, the origin of that principle of Aquinas which declared the actual division of private possessions to have no sacred sanction of immemorial right, but simply to follow from the experience of the race. Friars who taught England

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii, p. 257; *Annales de Wigornia* (R.S.), p. 545.
[2] *Ex registro W. Wayneflete*, tom. i, fol. 92.
[3] *Mediaeval Socialism*, p. 39.

the practical use of the theory of representation, and who could chaunt that democratic charter, *The Song of Lewes*, were not likely to become unpopular in their social and political views. But where they came to blows with the nation was over an even more personal, and, to Englishmen, more important matter, the right of way. Encroachments on that are regarded always with extreme jealousy by the populace who will often be silent and submissive to far greater tyranny. It is the memory of enclosures, a memory now wholly traditional, that has stirred among our own generation more hatred against the landed classes than any other act of greater tyranny, and enclosures were repeatedly sanctioned solemnly in Parliament. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that the Dominicans on a matter so sacred to the hearts of the people came frequently into obloquy, for in enlarging their homestead, or even widening or lengthening their buildings, they at times encroached on some common highway, with the result that the people had to substitute a long way round for the earlier short cut. Of all these controversies we may single out one, which deserves to be handed down to tradition as the Epic of Frog Lane. A roadway thus pleasantly named lay close to the Priory of Hereford, and was coveted by the friars for the enlargement of their homestead. In 1325[1] an inquisition was held to discover whether or not this would cause hardship to anyone. Twelve men, whose names are recorded for us, on 22 August asserted that such an encroachment would not be prejudicial to the King (Edward II), but would be prejudicial to the city, since it was the common access for horses and carts, and had so been time out of mind. In 1332 this was solemnly confirmed by Edward III, and the Dean and Chapter of Hereford the more heartily concurred since they had a rent from the lane, and thus were their liberties damaged by the friars to the prejudice of their charters granted by the King and his predecessors. But in 1334 the Dominicans had influence enough to secure a new inquisition (on which two members alone of the previous jury served) which declared on 23 May that no prejudice to King or city could arise from the occupation of the lane by the Preaching Friars. Six days later, before the new inquisition had reached the Court, Edward III (shrewdly suspecting, or it may be certainly knowing that something had taken place more advantageous to the friars) sent a royal mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was also the Chancellor, directing him to confirm the Dominican possession if the inquisition should find in their favour. On 9 June an order of Council, signed by Edward III in Newcastle, ordered that nothing further should be done without a special royal mandate. This left the friars in occupation of the lane. For eighteen years there was

[1] *Reliquary*, vol. xxiii (July 1882), p. 18 *sqq.*

a pause while the city girded itself for the fight. In 1352 a plea was urged at the Assizes against Thomas Rushook, the prior, and six friars and three lay-brothers by name: "Since by the obstruction of Frog Lane people living on that side of the city had no entry to it, for the walls of the Friars' ground had been built up so that there was no approach for the cattle." This was on 16 April. On 1 May, to escape from the difficulty, the Hereford community with some guile presented the now famous lane to the King, who promptly, as they had intended, re-granted it to them on 20 May. The town answered by demanding a new inquisition. The bailiff of the friars, John Palet, in reply, quoted the original royal grant, which included a rent to the King of 20*s.* a year, and in virtue of this evidence of royal ownership, Edward issued a mandate to stay any further proceedings, as he, a party to any claim, had not first been consulted by the city. In 1354, on 9 August, Hereford repeated its plea of 1352, to which the King answered by pardoning any irregularities on the part of the friars, and demanding in exchange a rent of £20 from Frog Lane, which had apparently, like unearned increment, as the centre of all this struggle gone up in value. For another thirty years silence once more settled down over the lane, though the friars must have long wearied of their heavy rent. But Edward's treasury, exhausted by ceaseless war, and, later, by his hopeless extravagance, did not seem likely to give up any possible source of revenue. However, in 1386, on 24 August, exactly sixty-one years to within two days from the date of the first inquisition, the King granted to the priory, in pure and perpetual alms, all the houses and lands which it held in Hereford. Thus, without mention of its name, Frog Lane came finally to be held freely, without opposition or rent, by the Black Friars of Hereford.

Elsewhere they were not so fortunate; but whether successful or not, indeed, even more thoroughly where they were successful, the friars must have lost enormously in popular estimation. Commissions of oyez and terminer are frequently met with, appointed in places like Boston and Derby, to assess the damages done to the priory by some riotous mob which burst in and broke open doors and windows, and beat the unfortunate friars, and went off with wood and stone, and even once the very shutters, to the value of 100*s.* This shows some want of popularity, arising most probably from some such obstruction as happens to be described with detailed evidence in the Epic of Frog Lane.

The only other evidence of any unpopularity comes from the literature of the mediaeval times. Certainly the tales of Chaucer alone are evidence enough of this, for there is hardly a friar there at all who can be considered in any sense as a man of God. Their repute must indeed have been bad when so

well-travelled an Englishman could venture consistently to speak ill of them. There are poems, too, popular and caustic, many of which can be found in Wright's collection of English songs, which describe much the same sort of friar, stupid, and thoroughly wicked. It would certainly not be fair to put all this aside and point to the friars as the idealized apostles which we are led sometimes to imagine them to have been. A vocation such as theirs was indeed a far harder life than that of the monk or the canon, at least in this, that their temptations were considerably more. After the Black Death, when so many unworthy people found a ready entrance into religious life, it was bad enough that cloistered precincts should be invaded by men unable to live up to their high calling; but when this type of religious became a friar, and had no longer the external decorum of a monastery to shield and defend him from himself, when he was sent in pursuance of his actual vocation to wander over all England from village to village, from house to house, preaching, instructing, confessing, it was obvious that weakness could not for long hold out against the constant strain of work with hardly any of the safeguards of monastic observance. All over Europe a decline was apparent. Domestic historians, the encyclicals of the Master-Generals, the letters of St. Catherine of Siena are all at one in demonstrating this terrible state of affairs. Only in England, as we shall see later, the Superiors of the Order certainly made an attempt to pull things together and set to work to re-establish the fervour and discipline that had previously existed.

Yet it is something that even Wycliffe at first loudly praised the friars when he began to tilt at the extreme luxury of the secular priesthood and the monks, and he actually alluded in some of his earlier writings to the "glorious" St. Francis and his zealous sons. His own preachers, moreover, adopted the garb of the Franciscan and the ideals of life of the Dominican. It was only when he started to revolt from Rome, the last and least popular stage of his career, that he was led to denounce the friars, who were naturally the incessant champions of Papal prerogative, since their world-wide organization and their special privileges depended absolutely on the over-lordship of the Pope.

It cannot, however, be denied that the reputation of the friars as a whole sank considerably from the Black Death onwards for about a hundred years, from the reign of Edward III to the reign of Henry V. But the rise of Lollardy and the strenuous opposition which it provoked seems to have had a beneficial effect upon the Dominicans, for from that time on begins again the testimony of popular favour. The lists of wills prove all over England a recovery by the friars of the good esteem of the people. Tradesfolk, who were then holding a considerable place in material affairs, were prodigal of their

wealth to the friars, erecting chantry chapels, leaving their bodies for burial in churchyard or cloister or church, having Masses said for their souls, Masses in perpetuity or trentals. Sometimes individual Dominicans are named, evidently a relation or confessor whose words had been of help. Sometimes, again, the bequest takes the practical form of the benefactor's own commercial produce, as when on 24 November 1504[1] Henry Thabor, "Citezein and Fisshemonger of London," bequeaths "unto the blak friers within Ludgate of London xx*s.* and a bareli of white Heryng and a Cade of rede Hering to the intent that they shall (say) dirige and a Trentall of masses," and on 31 July 1479 William Steede, a wine merchant, leaves them "forty gallons of good red wine."[2]

The list of wills is interesting in this, that it shows how widespread among all ranks of society was the desire to be connected with the Dominicans, and this in consequence implied a trust in the value of their prayers and devotions. Among others are Barons of the Exchequer, clerks "of the Remembraunces in the King's Eschequier at Westminster," "kepars of the King's Exchange and money and cunage within his Tour of London," rectors of churches, deans of St. Paul's, bishops and cardinals, mayors of London and of other cities and towns, knights and lords and aldermen, citizens, labourers, widows, princes, and kings and queens. Nor was it only when death was near in approach that their benefactions began, for all along the centuries are the names of people who gave messuages or rents or food to one or other of the priories of the English Dominicans. The Mayor of Lynn makes a gift of wine to that convent for St. Dominic's day 1285.[3] But of course the royal donations outnumber in importance and generosity all the other benefactions to which in course of centuries the Dominicans succeeded. Yet in return the kings and queens demanded the alms of prayers. Edward I[4] was always most regular in presenting petitions to the General Chapters to ask for the pious remembrance of the fathers for himself and his family and the kingdom, and this good practice his son continued. In 1314[5] Edward II repeated this petition, mentioning himself, his queen, his kingdom, Prince Edward, and the royal affairs. But political events changed from time to time the wording of this request, and the actual names given naturally vary considerably. In 1326[6] the king recommended himself to the Provincial Chapter of Oxford on 6 September, and for the first time omitted the names of his wife and son, who had fled beyond the seas to Mortimer, and were, as perhaps he sadly knew, to return within a few months and

[1] Wills, P.C.C., 24 Holgrave. [2] Wills, C.C.L., 274 fol. Wilde.
[3] Blomefield, *History of County of Norfolk, etc.*, vol. ii, p. 527.
[4] P.R.O. *Rot. Claus.*, 3 Edw. II, m. 10 dorso.
[5] *Ibid.*, 7 Ed. II, m. 5 dorso. [6] *Ibid.*, 20 Ed. II, m. 11 dorso.

drive him from his throne, though he could happily not have foreseen the unspeakable terrors of Berkeley Castle. By February of 1327[1] Edward III had succeeded, hardly more than a boy. He had as yet no family, and so his petition was for himself, for Isabella, the queen mother, and *her* children. By 1331[2] he had now intentions of his own, and had no further thought for Isabella, who was in her State prison for years yet to come. He spoke only of himself, Philippa his queen, and Edward, his first-born child. By 1377[3] the queen had gone, and though another had begun to occupy his mind and enfeeble his senses, still his memory reverted to the happier and earlier days, so that he granted henceforth in perpetuity £20 a year to the Provincial Chapter, that a Mass be said for the repose of her soul. Succeeding sovereigns confirmed this annual grant, and added thereto in perpetual memory their own names and the names of their queens and children.

The final test perhaps of the worth and popularity of the friars would be tabulated statistics of the numbers that joined them. But of this there is no real possibility at present. By the Reformation there were fifty-three houses in England, besides many others in Scotland and Ireland, in both of which countries, until almost the eve of the Reformation, the Friar Preachers came under the jurisdiction of the English Provincial. Fifty-three houses required much garrisoning out of the small population that then represented the English nation. It has been calculated that at the highest estimate there cannot have been in any one year more than two and a quarter million males in England up to the Black Death. From this must be deducted the number of secular priests and the huge population of the abbeys, some of which absorbed (as Rievaulx is supposed to have done) about 800 monks, including the lay-brothers required for the full farming work of the great Yorkshire houses that ran almost half of the wool trade of the country. Hence it is not to be supposed that these Dominican priories could really keep up their list of many friars. At first, in the rush and enthusiasm of the new spiritual life, people in numbers and of high attainments came to the bands of preachers. Bishop Mauclerk of Carlisle, after his disgrace at Court, renounced his See and settled as a Dominican in Oxford. Matthew Paris mentions with disgust an abbot of Romsey and several Benedictine priors who gladly entered the ranks of these Dominicans.[4] Many of the nobility had relations in the Order, though very few friars with titles are known by name, except perhaps Friar Bartholomew, an English Dominican, who was made a Papal Chamberlain,

[1] P.R.O. *Rot. Claus.*, 1 Ed. III, p. 1, m. 9 dorso.
[2] *Ibid.*, 5 Ed. III, p. 1, m. 29 dorso.
[3] P.R.O. *Rot. Pat.*, 1 Hen. VI, p. 3, m. 15, no. 37.
[4] *Chron. Major*, iv, 511 etc.; *Bullarium Ord. Praed.*, i, 220, 253.

allowed to accept a bishopric if it were ever offered him, and permitted to speak at mealtime, and is described in the Bulls granting these favours as the natural son of King John "of illustrious memory."

At King's Langley 100 religious were supported during the reign of Edward II; thenceafter sixty. At Holborn and Ludgate we hear of eighty. Gloucester is mentioned as having thirty, Leicester as twenty-five, and so on throughout. But it is not easy to know whether these figures were regularly maintained even up to the Black Death. From a comparative study of the houses of which we know the populations about 1300, there must have been close on 2,000 Friar Preachers in England, and, in conjunction with Scotland and Ireland, the Province perhaps numbered about 3,000 members. But then, of course, the English Province was the largest in the Order, for the provincial ruled over more than 100 convents, a majority of twenty or thirty over any other province.

When during the Reformation we are given the list of names of those members of the communities who signed the royal supremacy oath, or, at least, handed over their possessions to the Crown, the numbers have so far fallen that few convents give more than a dozen members. It is possible that there were some who did not sign, who fled at the approach of such disaster. It is possible, but not likely, for no mention or record is made of such dissenting friars. We may well believe that a decrease in fervour spelt also a decrease in numbers.

The century of foundations welcomed the Dominicans into England with a success and an advance that no other country in Europe could rival. Nowhere else had they so quickly so many priories. Perhaps the native love of preaching and of good sermons made them so popular.

Chief of all, the Crown made them generous benefactions and allayed all anxiety for the financial upkeep of such sudden success. It is no wonder that the English Provincial was upbraided by the General Chapter of London in 1250 for his interminable buildings: "We ordain to the Prior Provincial of England 5 days on bread and water, 5 psalters, 5 masses, 5 disciplines, and let him meddle less in building."[1]

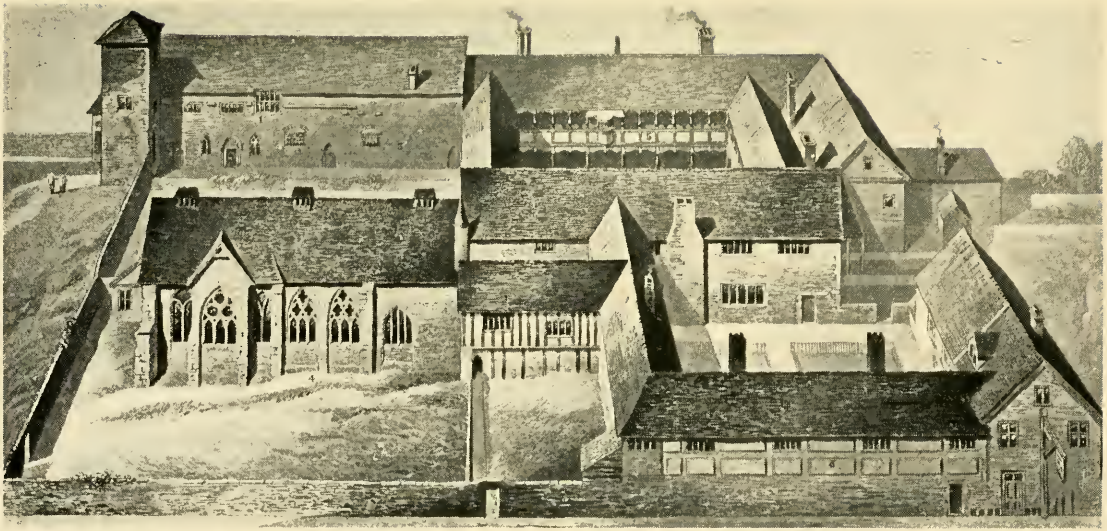
[1] Reichert, *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ord. Praed.* (1898, Rome), vol. i, p. 54.

CHAPTER II

THE PRIORY

THE definite form taken by a Dominican priory in pre-Reformation days can be reconstructed with almost absolute accuracy. It is evident, for instance, that the saying of the Divine Office by day and night, the purpose for which the Order had been founded, and the manners and customs of the friars would have determined to a certain extent something of the arrangements of the buildings. To this must always be added the realization that already in the tradition of Christendom a monastery or priory had its ceremonial of life and its symbolic ordering of which experience had proved the convenience, varying slightly according to the particular end each religious community had as the purpose of its existence. Moreover, besides such general considerations as these, there survives in England sufficient evidence to show exactly how these Dominican convents were arranged. Surveys of the sites, dating from the years of the Dissolution and after, were compiled in the interest of government or of the local tenants, and by a careful study of them a considerable amount of information can be gathered. There are sometimes even actual remains, which, though always fragmentary, often help out the vague descriptions of the surveyor, and give definite forms, sizes, and shapes to what had else been mere imaginative guesswork. Even wills, with their bequests and their detailed descriptions of burial places often, as with a sudden glimpse, illumine passages otherwise obscure. Finally, in contemporary literature (as in *Piers the Plowman's Crede*), descriptions are sometimes met with which set before the reader with the deft touch of life the thronging and crowded homes of these earlier sons of St. Dominic.

The outward appearance of such a priory would have been largely hidden from a visitor by a considerable precinct, enclosed by a high stone wall, pierced by gates. This larger enclosure circled the whole site, and marked off completely the actual boundary of the religious establishment. Sometimes it appears to have been so large in extent as to have included within it the cemetery; but ordinarily this would have been outside the precinct. Within this wider limit would be a smaller and stricter enclosure, which consisted simply of the monastic buildings pure and simple, even to the exclusion of the guest house, where in the more important priories even women were sometimes lodged. This narrower enclosure had, by canonical decree, but one entrance and exit, so that each who came and went would have to pass the scrutiny of the brother porter. His dwelling was a cell by the south-west corner of the church, so constructed that he could from



DOMINICAN PRIORY AT IPSWICH IN 1746

[To face p. 24

his place of daily work attend to such callers as rang at the bell and yet witness the various functions and ceremonies in the church, for though not destined to say the Divine Office in choir, being what is called a lay-brother, he had to be present at Mass, Compline, and the greater liturgical offices, as part of the effective expression of the Dominican spirit. After the dissolution part of the Ludgate Blackfriars was granted to Lord Cobham, and in the deed mention is made of "a certain window called the Closet-window looking out into the Church there."[1] This was evidently the look-out from the porter's cell. In Ludgate, too, a long corridor ran down from his cell to the gate, which gave on to the road, so that he had a corridor of about fifty feet along which to pass to answer the bell.[2] At Ipswich, in 1746, there still remained a considerable passage across an open space between the precinct wall and what had been the porter's lodge, for though the priory by then had become a hospital it kept untouched the full plan of its earlier use. Norwich, where the City Corporation have very generously spent much money on restoring what was left of the beautiful Dominican Priory and in laying bare the site of what had been the quadrangle, had apparently much the same arrangement. This is also suggested in the lease of 1526 by the community of Haverfordwest Priory to Friar Maurice Jones of "a chamber over the church gate next the street."[3]

The mass of actual building would appear to have been long and low, though probably broken by towers and turrets so as to prevent too heavy an effect. By Papal ordinance some 200 paces had to separate them from every other building, but this was secured chiefly by the precinct, which effectively prevented it from suffering from the normal overcrowding of mediaeval towns.[4] On two stories only was the priory allowed to be raised. Indeed, even the actual height had been determined from the beginning of the Order, for the early constitutions fixed twenty feet as the elevation of the house and thirty feet as that of the church; but this ordinance cannot have been at all rigorously enforced. Matthew Paris[5] particularly lays stress on the gorgeous palaces which housed the friars in England, and his accusation is amply borne out by the General Chapter of the Order held at Holborn in 1250, in which, as we have noted, the English Provincial was severely penanced for his architectural extravagances.

At the same assembly the prior of the Dominicans at Newcastle was summarily ejected from office, since he, too, had

[1] *Archaeologia*, vol. lxiii, p. 76. For *Crede of Piers Plowman*, *cf.* E. E. T. S., vol. xxx.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 61 and 75.

[3] P.R.O. Ministers' Accounts, 30-31 Hen. VIII, No. 189.

[4] *Bullarium*, vol. i, pp.253-254; *Analecta Ord. Praed.*, 1896, p. 646, and 1897, p. 98.

[5] *Chron. Major*, vol. iv, p. 280.

dabbled in building ventures, and that in a time of much scarcity, so that his extravagance seemed likely to ruin all the prospects of the priory by the huge proportions of the debt incurred.

On one side of the mass of buildings, sometimes, as we have noted, in the precinct, would have been the cemetery. To possess so ample a space as this was possible for the friars just because, as new arrivals, they could only build their convents on the edge of the crowded town, more often than not being obliged, under royal favour, to pull down part of the city walls so as to find room for themselves within it. The cemetery was much valued by the faithful as a place of burial, since it seemed to bring even the dead within the sanctifying influence of religious observance; but it was other purposes than that which made it necessary for the friars to have an open space near the priory, since here usually was the preaching-cross or outside pulpit which enabled the friars to attract a far larger concourse of people than the limits of their narrow Gothic churches would have permitted. It is for this reason, presumably, and not because of an enormous increase of burials, that within five years of their establishment the Dominicans of Bristol, and within nine years those of Cambridge,[1] had to extend their cemetery. As a proof of this practice of churchyard preaching we may note how, in 1410, Roger Jaket of London desired to be buried "in the Churchyard near the pulpit there,"[2] while William Thorley in 1431 wished his body to be laid "before the Cross in the Churchyard";[3] and among the list of obits of the Blackfriars at Bristol is the name of William Curtis, who is described as having erected a cross there.[4] Such a cross and pulpit are also alluded to in a manuscript of anecdotes for sermons compiled by a Cambridge Dominican in the middle of the thirteenth century (British Museum, Royal 7, D. i, ff. 61-139b). Two of the stories that this good friar quotes were "told me by the Lord William, Cardinal and legate of our Lord the Pope in Norway, when he passed through Cambridge in his sermon in the cemetery of the Friars Preachers." Indeed, there is one of these pulpits actually existing at Hereford, though it has been of late years considerably restored: in it a cross gracefully surmounts the covered hexagonal pulpit of carved stone. This was evidently the common form in Dominican churchyards, for *Piers the Plowman's Creed* describes it as a "curious cros craftly entayled with tabernacles y-tight, to toten all abouten." Here, too, within the precinct of the burial place was the Ankar house, a not infrequent adjunct of

[1] P.R.O. *P. R.*, 17 Hen. III, m. 8; *R. C.*, 24 Hen. III, m. 13.

[2] Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in Court of Hustings*, London, A.D. 1258-1688, vol. i, p. 391.

[3] C.C.L., 271 fol. More.

[4] *Reliquary*, April 1888, p. 76.

English Dominican life. Sometimes a man, sometimes a woman, seems to have lived in a round tower or "pyler," and there perhaps to have prayed for the welfare of the hospitable friars. We find these hermits within the Dominican precincts also at Newcastle, Dartford, and Salisbury.

Directly then to the north lay the church. This plan was favoured as holding the wind off the living part of the priory, and securing for the dormitory, cloisters, and guest-house the early and later sun. Its size varied considerably according to the importance of the site and the munificence of the founder; but it is noticeable that as the centuries passed there was a natural tendency to increase the size and richness of the buildings. The great church of the Blackfriars in Ludgate, begun in 1279, was 220 feet by 66;[1] their church at Norwich, completed in 1470, was 265 feet by 65.[2] Indeed, Norwich seems a very excellent example of what was perpetually happening, for in 1440, when the new church was begun, the whole of the older church became merely a chancel or choir, so great in the interval of 200 years had the ambitions of the friars grown.

The choir, where the friars assembled to sing their Divine Office, would ordinarily have been shut off from the main body of the church by a heavy screen, hiding from sight even the high altar. In assessing the damages committed by the mob at Exeter in 1302, when they burst into the Blackfriars' church, mention is made of their having broken down the "partitions before the Altars."[3] Here, at the high altar, whatever might be the continental custom, the English Dominicans of the early period seem to have reserved the Blessed Sacrament, not at any separate tabernacle or side chapel, but within the precincts of the choir and on the principal altar. Reginald Harrison in 1458[4] directed that his body was to be buried in the Blackfriars of Norwich, "in the presence of the Blood and Body of Christ," and in Warwick, in 1495,[5] the will of Edmund Verney explains clearly whereabouts in the Dominican church the Blessed Sacrament was reserved: "I will that my executors cause a lamp to be continually maintained burning in the Chancel of that Church, before the Host." Indeed, Dominican writers of the thirteenth century mention, as a proof of the beauty of the choral recitation of the Divine Office, that it was said in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament.[6] In any case the vessel which held the Sacred Species would have been draped, for frequently in

[1] *Merry England*, No. 79, p. 355. [2] *Reliquary*, Oct. 1888, p. 210.
[3] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 30 Ed. I, m. 36 dorso.
[4] Kirkpatrick, *History of Religious Orders, etc., in Norwich*, p. 131.
[5] *Transactions of Birmingham and Midland Institute*, 1880, p. 8.
[6] Reichert, *Acta Cap. Gen.*, vol. i, p. 47; Humbertus de Romanis, *Opera Omnia* (1888, Fribourg), vol. ii, p. 170.

the inventories of the Houses suppressed at the Dissolution occurs the item: "Canapey over the Sacrament."[1] But at Mass time the screen-doors separating nave and chancel would have been flung wide open, and thus allowed the people (in the touching phrase of the Middle Ages for hearing Mass) to "see their Maker." Naturally, as devotion to the Blessed Sacrament increased, the lay-folk grew impatient of this hiding. The altar was brought forward, and behind it the choir was pushed. But this was only about the sixteenth century, and it is not clear that any such arrangement was ever to be found in the English Dominican churches. Over the screen hung the great rood. In 1504 William Batyson[2] in his will expressed his wish to be buried "in the body of the Church before the High Crucifix," and Richard Mynar of Warwick (1511) sought the same place for his internment: "Within this religious house afore the Rode lofte."[3] *The Pleasant Song betweene Plain Truth and Blind Ignorance* (Deloney's *Garland of Good Will*, 1585-1600), one of the few poems that survive describing from the Catholic point of view the dissolution of the monasteries, gives this same appearance of the choir screen:

Oh hold thy peace, we pray thee,
The noise was passing trim,
To hear the Vriers zinging
As we did enter in:
And then to zee the rood-loft
Zo brawely zet with zaints
And now to zee them wandring
My heart with zorrow faints.

And the accounts of the parish of S. Mary Magdalen (32 Hen. VIII) at Oxford, record this item: "Paid for taking downe of Rode at the Black Fryars, with Marye and John and the carriage of them from the said Fryars to our Church xx^{d}."[4] In the church were no benches or chairs, but the open space of the nave and aisles was carpeted with straw in the winter and grass in summer.

The choir was by rule austere, though it might at times be made gay with colour. In 1506 Master Henry Rudde of Bury St. Edmunds left 20*s.* to the Blackfriars of Cambridge "toward the peyntyng of ix ordrys of aungelis";[5] while at Norwich in 1550 there still remained, fifteen years after the priory as such had ceased to exist, "three pecys of hangyngs of black worsted imbrodred with dede bodys rysyng out of graves,"[6]—no doubt a decorative set of hangings for the choir at Masses of Requiem. The windows would most

[1] *Reliquary*, April, 1888, p. 81.
[2] *Antiquary*, vol. xxiv, p. 76.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 266.
[4] *Reliquary*, vol. xxiii, p. 216.
[5] Wills, P.C.C., 12 Adeane.
[6] *Reliquary*, New Series, vol. iii, p. 102.

ordinarily have been coloured, in choir and church, with the arms of the various benefactors. Norwich church retained six windows so adorned till the middle of the eighteenth century, while one other was "glazed with the history of the psalm *Magnificat.*"[1] Agnes Maldon (1506), among her other benefactions in Norwich, wishes "that myn executors doo to be glased with my goods as it may be made ij newe Cleristory wyndowes in the Chauncell of the said freers, for the soules before rehersed (all cristen soules)."[2]

In the centre of the choir would have been the great breviaries chained to their iron stands. In 1365 Bishop Ringstead of Bangor, a Dominican, left his "great breviary" to the Friar Preachers of Cambridge, but if removed and not put back within three days it was at once to be taken to the friars of Ludgate.[3] In the Guildford inventory at the time of the suppression we find mentioned "a feyre egill for a lecturne,"[4] and Joan, the widow of Sir Richard Strangways, in 1500, directed her body to be buried "in the qwer of the same Friers under the lettron wherat they rede theyr legand."[5]

Within the choir no tombs at first were allowed to be placed, nor indeed any sepulchral effigies at all in any Dominican church. But this ordinance was very partially obeyed. Maud Lady Maudly (1438) orders a memorial stone "with my portraiture thereon in copper or latten gilt" for the Blackfriars at Scarborough,[6] and (in 1475) John Lord Beauchamp at Worcester by will founds a new chapel on the north side of the choir, "and to make a tombe for me with my effigy thereon in alabaster."[7]

As the popularity of the friars grew these bequests for burial became embarrassingly the cause of quarrels. On 21 January 1391,[8] royal letters of protection were issued for the Dominicans at Hereford against certain malicious people, so that no corpse is to be disinterred there without leave of the prior and convent. Yet in the March of 1392 the friars appear to have lost their case, for a new royal ordinance (presumably relating to the same affair) commands the body of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, to be dug up and taken to the Franciscans in London for burial, in order to avoid disputes.

Later, indeed, the burials mentioned in the wills are so abundant that one supposes the churches to have become a perfect museum of graves. In 1403, after the battle of Shrewsbury, many of the slaughtered nobility

[1] *Reliquary*, New Series, vol. ii, p. 211, and vol. iii, p. 45.
[2] Wills, P.C.C., 20 Adeane.
[3] *Reliquary*, April 1885, p. 206.
[4] *Ibid.*, Jan. 1887, p. 18.
[5] *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Surtees Society), Part II, p. 528.
[6] *Reliquary*, April 1880, p. 203.
[7] *Ibid.*, July 1879, p. 28.
[8] *Ibid.*, July 1882, p. 22.

were laid to rest in the Dominican church there.[1] In 1433 John Moseley wants to be buried in the London Blackfriars "before the Image of S. Mary commonly called le Pyte"; William Cotton (1453) prefers the "Image of S. Michael"; John Gall (1465) mentions the statue of "S. Peter of Meleyn"; Patrick Hedly (1494), an Irish merchant, naturally thinks of the national patron, and asks to be placed "afore the image of S. Patryke or nigh thereabout"; Richard Billesden (1493), perhaps because he had always hated draughts, required to be "as nigh to the wall as may be"; Richard Bridesall (1392) at York chooses to be "next my mother"; John Richmond (1452), again in London, touchingly seeks only to be "near the tomb where his children rest"; while Joan Ingoldesthorpe (1494), without over much delicacy, leaves her "stinking and corrupt body" to be buried in the Chapel of our Lady "where the body of Sir John Tiptoft, late Earl of Worcester, her brother, lies."[2]

There would appear to have been a regular ceremony for these funerals, for one will (1484) specifies that the Friar Preachers are to fetch the body, and another, earlier (1471), distinctly asks that the prior and convent should come with their cross, "as the usage is," and convey his body to their church, and for this and the placebo, dirige, and Mass they are to have 20*d.*; while, in addition, each friar priest present is to have 8*d.*, and every other friar and novice 4*d.* Sometimes poor men are provided with black gowns and hoods and large candles, and are required to recite psalms or rosaries. Again, further details of the customary procession are shown in the will of Oliver Daniel (proved in 1507) "every novice of every suche place devoutly by hymself or ells twoo and twoo togiders say a lowe dirige with comendacions and our lady psalter."[3] Earlier, too, than this (in 1373), when Friar Thomas Edwards died at Modbury, the vicar of the parish promptly buried him in the churchyard to the intense indignation of the prior of the Blackfriars at Exeter, to which house Edwards technically belonged. The bishop was appealed to. He considered the prior's claim to be just, and ordered Vicar John to disgorge the body and deliver it to the friars for re-burial in the convent.[4] Even more unpleasant was the case of Sir Henry Rawley, who died at Exeter in 1301, ordering in his will that his body was to be buried with the friars. The dean insisted that the corpse should first be taken to the cathedral before actual burial, and that the parochial rights would in that way be safeguarded. The friars refused; but the canons seized the body all the same and took it in triumph

[1] *Reliquary*, vol. xxvi, p. 11.
[2] *Antiquary*, 1891, p. 123, etc.; *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topological Journal*, vol. vi, p. 15.
[3] Wills, P.C.C., 21 Adeane.
[4] *Reliquary*, July 1886, p. 256.

to the cathedral, bringing it back later to the convent gate. The friars now refused to have anything further to do with the affair, locked the door and paid no attention to the violent ringing of the bell. The canons retorted by leaving the body and retiring. But this after a while produced so unpleasing a result that in the interests of general health the Chapter had to order the remains to be interred after all in the cathedral. This rebuff, however, was much disliked by the canons, who organized an attack on the priory by the mob; but before this could be delivered the friars got wind of it, and in a thoroughly drastic fashion excommunicated whoever ventured on so irreligious a course. Finally, after two whole years, in 1303, peace was made, and the bones of the good knight were brought back to rest at last (as he had wished) among his beloved friars.[1] Occasionally it is requested that the Mass be said by a particular Dominican. Thus John Forest, priest, in 1500: "I will have a priest, Fryer Arpyngham, to syng for me and my friendes the space of a hole yere, within the blakfreers in Norwich and he for to have for his labor vij marke Immediately as may be borne as my goods may come yn."[2] Yet for all this sombre ceremony there was sometimes good cheer. Says William Rede of Boston (1508), merchant of "the Staple of Caleis": "I will at my buriall that preests after dirige and freers have brede, chese and drynke and the brethren and sistern of Corpus Christi guylde and Saynt petir's guylde have spiced brede, comfytes and wyne."[3] Dame Eleanor Houghton, too, left very full instructions in her will at Worcester, 8 March 1511: she bequeathed 40*s.* to the friars for her burial: for being present and doing observance at the dirge, Mass, and burying every graduate priest should have 20*d.*, every other beneficed or unbeneficed priest 12*d.*, every parish clerk 2*d.*, and every child having a surplice 1*d.* A convenient dole was to be dealt among the poor people, and 2*d.* given to every poor man and woman of the almshouses who cannot come to the dole: "and for such worshipful and honest persons that come to the burying, meat and drink shall be provided in a worshipful manner." Torches and wax tapers were to be provided "according to her degree," and of those that hold them at the burial every man was to have a black gown with a hood and 2*d.* in money, and every woman a white gown with a hood and 2*d.*[4] Hence the infinite scorn and reproach in that phrase of Walsingham's in which he, after noting how bare and beggarly was the funeral of deposed and forsaken King Richard II at the Blackfriars of King's Langley, mentions indeed the presence of the Bishop of Chester (*i.e.*, Coventry and Lichfield, John Bunhill) and the abbots of St. Albans and Waltham, but adds "there was not any one who

[1] *Reliquary*, July 1886, p. 254.
[2] Wills, P.C.C., 4 Adeane.
[3] *Ibid.*, 13 Bennett.
[4] *Antiquary*, Dec. 1891, p. 268.

would invite them to dinner after their trouble."[1] Evidently without a feed a funeral was hardly complete.

In the choir the office would be sung day and night to the accompaniment of a "peyer of orgaynys."[2] Matins began at midnight, *i.e.*, not at the hour, but at the watch of midnight, at any time between 12 and 3 a.m., for the length of the hours varied according to the seasons. Always there were twelve hours of daylight and twelve hours of darkness, so that the hours of the full summer's day were seventy-five minutes and those of the summer's night were forty-five minutes. In winter the computation was reversed, the daylight hours being forty-five minutes and the night seventy-five minutes long. At the equinox by consequence both by day and night sixty minutes completed each hour. Prime was said at the first light of dawn and compline ended with the failing of the evening light. Thus the real times for the seven hours of the Divine Office varied considerably at the various seasons of the year. Apparently all the community were in bed at 6.30 or 7 at latest and rose at about 3 o'clock. This gave them some seven or eight hours of sleep; and should this sleep be shortened, as happened in the summer owing to the earlier rising, the afternoon siesta kept the friars in good health.

At night the church was ordinarily locked, but all day long it stood open. This explains why in 1480 the Prince of Wales enjoins the bailiffs of Shrewsbury to remedy the nuisance from which the Dominicans suffered. "Hogges bring in the said karen into their Chirch when they be assembled there to goddes plesure."[3] (The "they" in this case being the friars presumably, not the hogs.) Even apart from hogs, there were sometimes difficulties in church from the want of sanitation, for a petition from the Carmelites, the Dominicans, and the Bishop of Salisbury (dated 1290) reached Parliament protesting against the stench that arose from the Fleet river in the City of London, a stench so intolerable that it was impossible to say office in church without running grave risk of bodily harm. Indeed, many of the Carmelites had already died from the effects of it.[4]

Leading out of the choir to the east of the conventual buildings was the sacristy. Here were stored the vestments and altar furniture, ample for every occasion, even to "lytyil copys for chyldern."[5] Much might have been worn and faded, but much also was richly embroidered. Jane Beauchamp bequeaths to the Dominicans of Hereford "a hool sute of black (that ys to say a chesypul, two tunicles, three coops) with my best pair of candlesticks of silver wisthen: and my best sute of vestments of cloarth of Gold with Peacocks."[6]

[1] *Reliquary*, April 1879, p. 213.
[2] *Ibid.*, Jan. 1887, p. 18.
[3] *Ibid.*, Oct. 1885, p. 12.
[4] *Merry England*, no. 72, p. 37.
[5] *Reliquary*, July 1879, p. 29.
[6] *Ibid.*, July 1882, p. 24.

At Gloucester, in the inventory of 27 July 1538, is noted "a sewt of blew sylke with goldyn bests."[1]

The east wing appears ordinarily to have consisted of the store-rooms and cellars and kitchens: over these, in London,[2] were the apartments of the prior and the provincial, while on the ground floor close by were also various lecture halls for the novices, the provincial's hall, and the chapter-house. Due south of the east wing was the fermory or infirmary. This was a quarter apart. It had its own dormitory, refectory, etc. Close at hand was a garden or some open meadow or at least the smooth level grass of its quadrangle, for the recreation of the sick. In a thirteenth-century commentary on the Dominican constitutions, the ideal infirmarian is described as affable and discreet, open-handed, of unalterable patience. He should be, it declared, as tender as a woman, for it is written in the Book of Ecclesiasticus: "Where no woman is, the sick man is in want." To the infirmary came the friars for their monthly blood-letting, performed by the local physician, who was doctor, dentist, and surgeon in one. Here, too, concerts were given to cheer the sick, for some of their songs, with quaint mirthful tunes, are still extant. Even death, as far as might be, lost here something of its unloveliness. Amid the chaunted cadences of the *Salve Regina*, the soul gently lifted the latch and passed to the outer air of the new life.[3] For each the friars said their masses of suffrage, and kept a yearly obit. Such a list of the deceased members still remains in the case of the Guildford Dominican community: and some anniversaries are noted in the illuminated Horae Diurnae of the Norwich Priory.[4]

To the west of the infirmary and forming the whole south wing of the quadrangle was the refectory or frater. Its length and general size may be estimated by this fact, that it occupied the entire south side of the priory. Here no doubt were held some of the great assemblies, ecclesiastical or lay, that at times are reported to have taken place at the Blackfriars, like the Mad Parliament of Oxford in 1258. London, however, had a separate building altogether to the south-west of the priory, where parliament sat, and church councils held their meetings for the condemnation of error, and the great Court of Inquisition under Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio sifted evidence for and against the validity of Henry's marriage to Katharine of Aragon. On the same site was the Blackfriars Theatre, where once again by players in the pageant of *Henry VIII*, the drama of the divorce was enacted.

In the refectory the seats were placed against the walls with

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, 1882, p. 8.
[2] *Archaeologia*, vol. lxiii, p. 68.
[3] Humbertus, vol. i, p. 411, vol. ii, pp. 302, 319; *Analecta*, 1897, pp. 47-48.
[4] *Reliquary*, Jan. 1887, p. 11; April 1889, p. 98.

the tables in front, so that the friars sat facing the centre. At the farthest end from the kitchen, which communicated with the refectory through a turn or hatch (an inventory of 1538 speaks of "a gret bolting hoche"[1]), sat the prior, on his left the sub-prior. Between them and over their heads hung a crucifix or some sacred picture was painted. Thus the famous Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci is frescoed on the walls of the Dominican refectory of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan. Humorous designs sometimes brightened the room. At Gratz, amongst other quaint sculpture, is a dog with a piece of bread balanced on its nose, while an imperious hand uplifted holds the animal in suspense. Under it is written: *Licentia comite.*[2] No doubt the hungry friars, waiting for the prior's signal to begin, saw the analogy and patiently expected the given command. From the feast of High Cross (14 September) till Easter—the long fasting season—the brethren dined at two or three in the afternoon; from Easter to High Cross at mid-day. For the novices and old and sick there was an earlier meal at six or seven in the morning. This must have been a pretty solid refection, for one thirteenth-century writer bids them not to take too much lest they should spoil their dinner, which came some five hours later. But this same writer has left us a delightful picture of hungry friars pacing the long cloister, going out to gaze on the sundial and urging the brother sacristan to ring the bell and hasten on the time for meals. Supper consisted apparently of a drink of wine or beer. Perhaps a biscuit or cake was added.[3]

After the bell sounded for dinner the friars went and washed their hands in the long trough of water outside the refectory. When all were assembled the prior said the De Profundis Psalm; sometimes other prayers were added. Reference is made to this practice in the will of Sir Robert Southwell, knight, in 1514. He directed his "most vile body" to be buried "in the cloister of the Friars Preachers in the city of London under or near the Lavatory there, nigh to the picture of the holy Crucifix there set. I will that that friar of the same place, appointed daily for the work to say there the mass of the Trinity, by the space of xx years next after my decease say every day a special collect in his mass for my soul, also de profundis with a pater and ave and crede for my said soul . . . at the said lavatory immediately when the convent of the said place or the most part of them shall go to dinner. Item I will that that friar being a priest that first happen to come any day during the said xx years, in the morning first to the said lavatory to wash his hands and then and there to

[1] *Reliquary*, Jan. 1887, p. 18.

[2] Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Generaux de l'ordre des frères Precheurs*, 1904, Paris, vol. i, p. 612.

[3] Humbertus, vol. ii, p. 539, vol. iii, p. 193.

say de profundis for the souls before said, have for his so doing 1*d.*" Further, he left 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly to the prior and sub-prior to say "God have mercy on my soul" every day after dinner.[1]

Then beginning with the youngest, the community entered the refectory. Grace was sung, the friars standing in two long lines up the whole length of the frater (in London it was 114 feet long), then sitting in their places while some verses of scripture were chaunted. Then silence followed, broken only by the noise of serving and by the reader's voice as he chaunted through a passage from the Constitutions (this would have been omitted if strangers were present). On Mondays the Rule of St. Augustine was read; on other days special writings of the Fathers, called *Originalia* (*i.e.*, homilies), and the Passions of the Martyrs. When the prior gave the signal to cease, the reader marked the place where he had left off with lead or wax.[2]

The tables were not covered with tablecloths, but each friar had his separate cloth, which stretched up under his chin to form a napkin. Also, on a smaller cloth in front, each placed his salad, his jug of water, wine, or beer, his candles, and his fruit skins. William Stalworth, merchant tailor of London, left by bequest to the Dominicans there "every Lent for ten years a barrel of white herrings and to the young friars of the same house for the same time a frayte of fygges."[3] Henry Fulflo of Ipswich bequeathes in 1486 "to the Freyer Prechors a barell of Beer."[4] In 1285 the Mayor of Lynn (John of St. Omer) sends 11*s.* to the Blackfriars there for wine on the feast of St. Dominic.[5] Each would have had a knife and a spoon, but forks were only introduced into England in 1303, and were for a long time too great a luxury to have been allowed in a priory. The drink was ordinarily beer, and to it each was advised to add water. There is a pathetic story recounted of how there appeared after death to one of his old companions a friar suffering severely in purgatory, because, so he said, he had always taken his wine neat "that he might sleep the better."[6]

By their rule the Dominicans never tasted meat unless they were sick, and then only in the infirmary. They had ordinarily two courses, to which the local superior could add a third. At times some benefactor would send in presents of choice delicacies. Thus at the General Chapter of London, 1250, Henry III provided food for the first day, the Queen on the

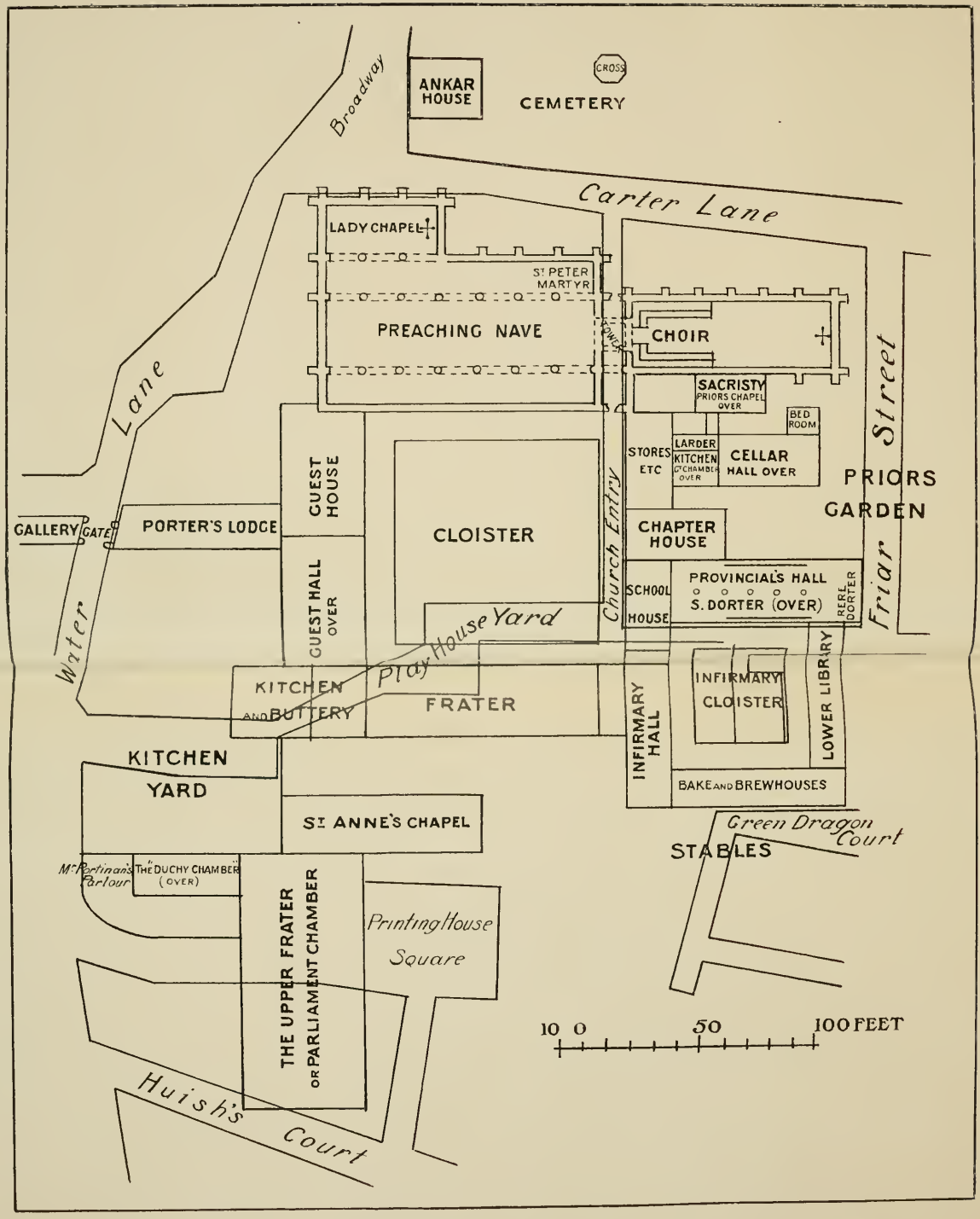
[1] *Antiquary*, Aug. 1891, p. 78.
[2] *Analecta*, 1896, p. 636; *Acta Cap. Gen.*, L. 12, 104; Humbertus, vol. ii, pp. 299, 300, 289.
[3] Wills, P.C.C., 22 Ayloffe.
[4] *Reliquary*, April 1887, p. 74.
[5] *Archaeological Journal*, 1884, p. 2.
[6] Reichert, *Vitae Fratrum* (1896), p. 208.

second, while the abbots of Westminster, St. Albans, Waltham, and the citizens of London helped on other days.[1] They were austere in their diet: yet remembering, says one writer, that they were like horsemen with but one horse for lifetime. Chaunted grace ended the meal. Later, recreation followed for the whole community, but in the early days of the Order permission to talk could be given only to individuals, and for a definite purpose and for a determined and stated time.[2]

Notice in passing the qualities required of the brother who presided over the kitchen: "He should be a good cook, clean and patient."[3] The kitchen lay usually in the extreme south-west corner of the quadrangle, so that it was adjacent both to the refectory and the guests' rooms. Quite early in the thirteenth century there were no guest apartments; but in 1422 we hear of a heretic condemned in "Le Hostrye of the Blackfriars of Ludgate."[4] Also in 1411 a French embassy lived in the same apartments, the King on 22 August paying £36 board and lodging for them. Again, in 1412 (23 November), payment was made to the London Dominicans for the ambassadors of the Duke of Brittany, who stayed with them, as also did the representatives of the Dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon. Even Charles V was placed here in 1522. Again, it must surely have been of the guest house that Froissart was speaking when he describes (22 May 1328) the fight between the English archers and the followers of Sir John Hainault at the time when the king and queen kept their court in the Blackfriars of York: "The Queen gave her entertainment in the dormitory, where at least sixty ladies whom she had invited to entertain Sir John de Hainault and his suite, sat down at her table."[5]

So, too, at Shrewsbury the queen of Edward IV gave birth in the Dominican Priory to two sons, one of whom was the luckless Richard of York, murdered by "Uncle Glo'ster" in the Tower.[6] And at Oxford what is supposed to be the guest house remains; indeed, it is all that does remain. Here, however, there is matter for long discussion, since it was at the Blackfriars that the Bishop of Lincoln stayed on his visits to Oxford, so that some of his official deeds are dated from his "mansio among the Preachers," and it is quite possible that this mansio is the old black and white house still standing at the corner of Rose Place and Grandpont Street.

[1] *Merry England*, April 1889, p. 440.
[2] Contrast Constitutions of 1228 (*Analecta*, 1896) and those of 1241 (*Analecta*, 1897).
[3] Humbertus, vol. ii, pp. 317-319.
[4] *Merry England*, 1889, p. 276, etc.
[5] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 1881, p. 10.
[6] *Reliquary*, Oct. 1885, p. 79.



PLAN OF LONDON BLACKFRIARS

FROM A PLAN BY MR. A. W. CLAPHAM IN "ARCHÆOLOGIA," VOL. LXIII

By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London

(The names of modern Streets are printed in Italics)

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The guest house had a guest master, a priest, who was exhorted to be of gay humour, a lovable man, yet grave withal, tactful of speech and unsparing of his time. To each guest he was to offer bread and wine, but should they stay too long he had the unpleasant task of hinting and hastening their departure.[1]

The chapter-house has already been mentioned as part of the west wing in the London Blackfriars, and the *Crede* describes its frescoed walls and high windows like a great church. It became, indeed, subsequently the church of St. Anne, which had some sort of parochial jurisdiction, for the prior had always to appoint for its services "a sufficient curate."[2] The building dated back to 1281, when Master Richard de Stratford, a novice and not a professed brother, brought into court his own testament and caused it to be proved, in which he assigned certain tenements to be sold, and the proceeds to be devoted to the erection of a chapter-house.[3] Ordinarily it was a rather lofty hall, with seats all along the walls; at the farthest end was the prior's stall, overhung by a crucifix. Later, as soon as the custom for benefactors to be buried there came into vogue, an altar was placed at the end and a chair accommodated the prior. He held chapter as often as he liked, but not every day. Chapter meant that each in turn accused himself publicly of his faults against the rule, not of his sins. Complaints were made, when made at all, before all thus assembled, and the prior publicly gave his penances. It was an eminently wholesome system: public avowal, public accusation, public punishment. Also in the chapter-house were held all meetings to consider the administration of the convent, to decide on reception to the habit and the profession of the brethren, to vote for the election of superiors, etc.

Above these lower rooms ran the dormitories or dorters, long rooms arched by a single span. From end to end of them stretched the lines of beds. Opposite to each bed was an alcove formed by partitions that jutted out from the wall immediately facing. These partitions, perfectly preserved in the old Priory of Gloucester, are about a man's height, project about five feet from the wall, and are about four feet wide. These were the cells (*cellulae*) of the brethren. They were thus exactly opposite each bed, had table, chair, and a locker for a few books, were ornamented with a crucifix, a picture of Our Lady and another of St. Dominic. Since each cell was thus open at the top and front, silence was necessarily very strictly enjoined as the only possible way of securing the required opportunity for study. The novices had simply a long room fitted with beds; they alone had no cells. There was a bed-warden, whose duty it was to attend to the cleanliness of all within

[1] Humbertus, vol. ii, pp. 310-315. [2] *Merry England*, 1889, p. 358.
[3] Sharpe, *Wills, etc.*, vol. i, p. 52.

the dormitory.[1] In process of time this common dormitory, distributed into open cells, was split by a corridor into one long dormitory or sleeping place, still open and common, fronted now by real cells, closed up and individual for the greater convenience of private prayer and study. But even from the beginning there had always been a few private cells (*camerae*), the privileged abodes of the professors and the more advanced and promising students. In these lights were allowed, so that even after sunset they could continue their work, and they were decorated with some show of comfort: "hangeyd with steyneyed clothe."[2] Indeed, as observance relaxed the cells of the brethren appear to have become more and more fitted up with furniture. Bridget Edwardes (1526) leaves to Friar John Ducheman of Ipswich, "her ghostly father, a crucifix of timber carved, a tyke for a feather bed, a fire-pan, a trammell, and a pair of tongs."[3] Perhaps more luxurious still was the bequest of Margaret Cuttiler (1511) "to Friar Harry of the Black Fryars in Ipswich, a feather bed, blanket, bolsters and sheets, with the candle-light that he now uses in his sicknesse."[4] These beds were very often gay with coloured upholstery, especially among those members of the province who became royal confessors. Thomas Rushook and Henry Wylie, who directed the somewhat impulsive conscience of Richard II, affected as their favourite adornment *worsted blue*, and even when Thomas Rushook became Bishop of Llandaff he still retained his fancy for that colour. On the other hand, John of Lenham and John of Warfield under Edward II preferred *red serges*, and the King spent 14*s.* on the purchase of these luxuries.[5] All this helps us to understand why at the suppression of the Dominican priories the king's prize consisted usually of little else than vestments, the lead off the roof, flock beds, and chafing dishes.

On the upper story, too, in order to prevent the damp which so easily destroyed the parchment rolls and harmed the illuminated books, was the library,[6] not necessarily a large room, for books were scarce, yet always the centre for those whose work of preaching or teaching needed a large supply of learned material. Round the walls were placed cupboards, each with divisions neatly labelled under some special heading; all were catalogued. In each was written the name of the priory and the name of the donor, with a request to the reader to pray for the giver's good estate. On the table lay pumice-stone to erase mistakes and markings, and many a sarcastic word was spoken in the Middle Ages against those who scribbled comments in

[1] Humbertus, vol. ii, pp. 190, 253; *Analecta*, 1897, p. 178; Reichert, *Flamina Chron.*, p. 29; Mamachi, *Annales Ordinis Praed.*, vol. ii, p. 267.
[2] *Reliquary*, Oct. 1886, p. 260. [3] *Ibid.*, April 1887, p. 75.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 75. [5] *Home Counties Magazine*, 1910, p. 100.
[6] Humbertus, vol. ii, p. 264.

the margin of the books they read; lead for closing the books and keeping them shut; knives for sharpening the quills; candles for night time, etc. In the centre of the room appear to have been large pulpits, to which were chained the books of reference and the perfect exemplar copies of the Breviary and Missal, which were never to be taken away. The other volumes, in spite of Papal prohibition, were often lent about. In 1274, on 30 October, John of Balsham acknowledges the receipt of books which had once belonged to Friar Robert of Dunwich, a Bible, a Book of the Sentences, a dictionary, and the Summa called le Breton.[1] These had somehow come into the king's hands, and were by him returned. The author of the *Philobiblon* (cap. VIII), who has some hard things to say about the Dominicans, specially commends their generosity: "But although we have acquired a very numerous store of ancient as well as modern works by the manifold intermediation of the religious, yet we must laud the Preachers with special praise, in that we have found them above all the religious most freely communicative of their stores without jealousy, and proved them to be imbued with an almost Divine liberality, not greedy, but fitting possessors of luminous wisdom."

It is to be presumed that the chief books possessed by Dominican libraries would have been such as could have been classed under the heading of Scripture. In the Ludgate library, however, besides Biblical commentaries, were the works of Master Wycliffe and replies to the same, several tragedies of Seneca, a volume or two of Cassiodorus, some of the Chronicles of Giraldus Cambrensis, and, under the label of science, an illustrated manual on the motion of the heart, and a complete treatise on the life and behaviour of comets.[2] The Cambridge Dominicans had a Bible in the vulgar tongue.[3] At Boston the friars had the history of Archbishop Turpin, with the detailed story of how Charlemagne freed Spain from the Saracens. Indeed, Boston could boast of the most readable library of all, since it further contained the Chronicle of Popes and Emperors, the Gestes of Troy, the History of the Greeks, the History of the British, besides the usual commentaries on Scripture and the treatises on theology.[4] St. Richard of Chichester in 1253 divided his books by request among the Dominicans of Arundel, Canterbury, London, and Winchester.[5] Similarly Cecily, Duchess of York, mother "unto the most cristen prince my Lord and son King Edward the iiij," adds this item to her will: "Also I geve to my doughter Brigitte the boke of Legenda aurea in Velem, a boke of the lif of

[1] P.R.O. *Lib. A. Thes. Recept. Scac.*, fol. 230.
[2] *Merry England*, 1889, p. 279.
[3] *Reliquary*, 1885, p. 142.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 90.
[5] Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. ii, p. 161.

Saint Kateryn of Sene, a boke of Saint Matilde." Bridget was the Dominican nun at the convent of Dartford.[1]

The habit then worn differed only in minor points from that customary to-day in the Order of St. Dominic. Linen was forbidden then as now to be worn next to the skin, though we do have record of certain friars who were dispensed from this on account of the delicacy of their flesh. The inconvenience was certainly very great at times. We hear of a Friar Thibaut who was made so irritable by the wool and so restive that as he paced the cloister trying to say his office he met the subprior who had been the cause of his entering into the Order, and, chafing at the prickly friction of his rough under garments, as a vigorous protest, struck him over the head with his breviary. However, he soon got accustomed to the irritation and lived, so he tells us, happily ever after.[2] The habit consisted of a white tunic, girdled with a leather belt (so Dante[3] distinguishes St. Dominic from rope-girdled St. Francis) over which hung a hood and scapular of one piece. Over all this, when out of doors and on solemn occasions, was a hood and cloak (again all in one) of black, whence in England the popular name for the Dominicans was Black-Friars. The symbolic interpretation of so perfectly simple a habit was soon seized upon by religious writers, but the origin of the habit lay in the prosaic causes of St. Dominic's own life. The white tunic and black cloak he inherited as his portion from his earlier acceptance of the rule of St. Augustine and his place among the Canons of Osma. The rochet, which must first have been his, was discarded for the scapular in obedience to an apparition of Our Lady to Reginald of Orleans, a charming young professor who was one of St. Dominic's first disciples after the foundation of the Order. But there were sometimes personal vagaries which destroyed the perfect symbolism of black and white. Bishop Alexander Bache of St. Asaph leaves in his will a garment "parti-coloured, red and blue, woven of cloth of gold"—a queer adornment for a friar, even though he was a bishop. Lady Margaret Aldeburgh leaves to the Dominicans of York (1391)[5] "a sanguine cloak trimmed with minivre," but this is to help pay the expenses of their new bell-tower; and there are frequent references to bequests of wonderful garments to be made into chasubles and copes. Widow Alice Woodgate of London (1387), bequeaths "a whitecloth of Blanket" to be made into habit-wear;[6] and to provide for the General Chapter of the whole Order at Holborn in 1263 (at which it is

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, 1878, p. 21.
[2] *Vitae Fratrum*, p. 103.
[3] *Paradiso*, canto 138.
[4] *Reliquary*, 1882, p. 22.
[5] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 1881, p. 15.
[6] Sharpe, *Wills, etc.*, vol. ii, p. 270.

supposed that St. Thomas Aquinas assisted) Henry III ordered from the royal wardrobe accounts 700 habits;[1] in 1243 he also gave a pair of shoes and a habit to each of the eighty London Dominicans.[2] But in 1459 George Boys left to David Keene, Blackfriar of Ludgate, "my red Irissh mantell to have and occupie by hym for tenue of his lyf." This gay attire, which lightened thus the grey walls of the priory, was not to finish its course with David Keene's own life, for Boys thought evidently that its own chance of permanence was greater than that of any of its wearers. It was to be passed on from friar to friar, and each was to pray for his soul's repose.[3]

From the leather belt hung writing tablets, a knife, a handkerchief, and a pocket, rather like the old-fashioned way ladies had in the Victorian era. The lay brothers had strings of beads called paternosters, but the priests do not seem to have carried rosaries till the fifteenth century. Hats were used only when travelling, especially when riding. The tonsure was shaved every three weeks in winter and every fortnight in the summer. Beards were at first optional, though in the end they became quite forbidden. No contracts have yet been found in England with local barbers, but one yet remains in Italy stipulating that the Dominicans of Perugia were to be shaved every ten days in summer time and every fifteen days in winter. Presumably the tonsure and beard were done together, the hair on head and chin being allowed to grow till the official fortnightly or three weekly harvest. In the house cloth slippers were worn; out of doors the Friar Preachers, like the Cistercians, says a chronicler, used laced boots.[4]

Lastly, in describing a mediaeval priory, the prison must be noted, where were kept refractory brethren, a necessity indeed, as the friars were exempt both from the lay and clerical courts. Sometimes scandals arose over the harsh treatment accorded to those condemned to the dungeons; and sometimes it would appear that those who had lost their reason were here kept in durance. A hard system truly, yet imposed by the whole trend of social life.

Within these lines ran the simple passing of their lives. Even and uninterrupted, except for the periodic preaching and begging, was the daily course of Dominican existence. Occasionally, as we shall see, embassies or royal business required much travelling, but this would have affected only a comparatively few members of the English Province. Occasionally, too, there would be the transference from one house of studies to another, either within these islands or even beyond the seas, for the common use of Latin as a learned

[1] *Merry England*, 1889, pp. 440, 437. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Wills, C.C.L., 314*b*, fol.
[4] Humbertus, vol. ii, pp. 273, 330; *Acta S.S.*, Maii iv, p. 391.

tongue allowed of frequent interchanges of professors, irrespective of nationality or language. Then there would be the Provincial Chapters, which meant a yearly meeting in one priory of the province of the representatives of all the other priories. Here business was done, legislation passed, faults corrected, promotions and degrees conferred on professors, and the officials of the convents carefully checked or commended. Still, even so, that too became part of the permanent life of the friars, and it could make but little excitement in the ordered ways of the cloister.

The great and unfailing source of new ideas and fresh notions must have been the annual Chapters General, when from England friars went abroad to meet their fellows in an international congress. It took place now in one country, now in another, in England or France or Spain or Italy or the Empire. There was the journey to be braved, the adventure of the sea, the long perils by water and land, the weeks to be expended before some far-off town was eventually reached in time for the meetings, and the long tramp back through cities which were quite likely to be lately convulsed by sudden wars, and through valleys and over hills where darkness might be a grave danger in itself or a cover from greater ills. This would surely have kept England incessantly in touch with wider movements, and enabled the friars to find larger ideals than their own narrow lives might have suggested. But there was very often a national antagonism which made these chapter journeys not wholly pleasurable: in 1309 at the chapter we find Friar Guy of Vande, procurator of the convent of St. John, in the province of France, removed from his office and his convent for "receiving ill the definitor of England and his companion." And three years later the hostility blazed out afresh, for the General Chapter of Carcassone awarded ten days of bread and water to the prior of Bayeaux, in the province of France, because he "treated with irreverence the definitor of the English Province who was on his way to the General Chapter."[1] So fierce, in fine, became these disputes between the English and French friars that it ended after many quarrels and misunderstandings in the English friars refusing to attend chapter at all. It seemed hopeless to convince the foreigner, and so it was best to leave him to himself; such appeared to become for eight years the policy of the latter province, a sturdy and rather narrow John Bullism produced by the Hundred Years' War and a series of French Master-Generals.

Still at times the chapter came to England and assembled in London (first in Holborn 1250 and 1263, and then in Ludgate 1314 and 1335) or in Oxford 1280. It was in London in 1263

[1] Reichart, *Act. Gen. Cap.*, loc. cit.

that St. Edward's feast was accepted by the Dominican Order into its calendar out of compliment to the king, as in Germany in 1353 it added the feast of St. Adalbert, the patron of the Emperor Charles IV. Yet on the whole the results of the chapters were not so much complimentary as corrective. The English Province in 1250 was discovered by the others, as we have stated, to have been over much interested in building and too careless of its heaped up debts. Remarks, keen and critical, were directed against such of the brethren as arrived on horseback, and the friars of Newcastle-on-Tyne were especially rebuked for having come at all, as they had no right of suffrage. Even their singing plain chaunt in harmonies instead of in unison was declared to be distinctly opposed to the spirit of the Order, and their clothing, too, not always according to the decrees of chapter and the express wording of the constitutions.

Yet these international assemblies bridged over all differences of national temperament, and added a wider tolerance and culture than each province could have helped to secure. Despite the severance of the seas, England was very much in touch with continental life, since Christendom was no mere theory, but a defined and absolute fact. Yet, closely linked up with Europe, the English Domicians held fast to their own national character. They had a distinct life, a distinct tradition, a distinct effect upon the Order as a whole. At times in conflict with the rest over points of religious discipline, protesting against actual reforms that they judged to be at variance with the spirit of St. Dominic, they yet lived their days in much the same circumstances as, all the world over, did the other members of the Order. Here and there climate made difference to the plan of the priory, to the food (still more to the drink) customary among the Friar Preachers, but really the life was one and the same, indivisible, unique.

Founded and organized, the Province set out on its great work in teaching, preaching, and affecting the political and social life of the nation.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDIES

IN describing the work accomplished in England by the Dominicans, it is obvious that their intellectual labours should come first, for study was the principal means laid down by St. Dominic to achieve the purpose of his Order. By deliberate design he had adopted the profession of preaching. His acquaintance with the needs of the Church in Southern France had shown him how essential it was for all Catholics to be well instructed in their faith. Heresy, which was his main enemy, grew and fattened on the ignorance of priest and lay folk. Hence his particular form of preaching was not a moral revival so much as elaborate exposition of Catholic doctrine. St. Francis delighted in the burning eloquence that inflamed men's hearts with the love of God; but St. Dominic, knowing that perfect love must follow upon perfect knowledge, strove rather to teach truth. He began, therefore, himself with his earliest band of followers to frequent theological lectures at Toulouse, for in order to preach the mysteries of faith it was essential first to be well grounded in their exact understanding. "Study," wrote the fifth Master-General, Humbert de Romans, "is not the end of the Order, but is exceedingly necessary to secure its twofold end, namely, preaching and the salvation of souls, for without study neither can be achieved."[1] Learning, therefore, especially in the sense of theological learning, became for them a religious occupation, a divine service. Alone of religious orders (so in the thirteenth century they boasted), the Friar Preachers looked upon intellectual activity as the chief means of monastic perfection. Therefore was it that Paris, Bologna, Toulouse, and Oxford became the first centres of their fullest display.

But while thus they were driven by the force of their work to become students, a crisis in the Church's life compelled them at the same time to become professors.[2] The foundation of the University of Paris that followed upon the twelfth century renaissance and its immediate success made it the great centre of Western intellectual activity, and drew to it doctors and masters from all over Europe. At first a band of individual teachers, later a corporation or guild of professors in arts and theology, under the patronage of Philip Augustus, it made Paris the capital of Christian learning. Only by so doing it at the same time and for the same reason drained Christendom of its theological lecturers. Everyone who had

[1] *Opera*, vol. ii, p. 41.

[2] For this chapter compare A. G. Little's *Educational Organization of the Friars in England* (Transactions of R.H.S., 1894, pp. 49-70), and Mortier, vol. i, pp. 222-253.

ambitions to advance in the studium hastened to make best use of what was best provided. The cathedral schools soon languished and decayed, not for want of pupils, but of professors. The popes therefore enacted as early as 1179 that chairs of theology, beneficed and to be held for a definite term of years, were to be established to train the clerics and poor scholars who could not hope ever to reach Paris. The Council of the Lateran in 1215 considerably extended this policy by including in it not only cathedral churches, but many others. In each archiepiscopal city a theologian had to be provided for, and in each episcopal city at least a master of grammar. Four years later Honorius III bitterly complained that nothing had been done, and ordered the bishops to take care to send fit students to the universities in order that when their studies were completed they might return and teach in their own schools. For this purpose he so far relaxed the canons against the absentee beneficed clergy by allowing them to retain their revenues for the five years required for such a course at Paris, Bologna, and elsewhere. Even at Bologna there were few masters of theology to be found (the University was given over wholly to canon and civil law), though the magistrates worked hard to secure one. But all these means appear to have failed, at least for a time, for St. Thomas, in a well-known passage, declared that even in his day (he died 1274), with the exception of the religious orders, there were few professors of theology to be found outside the universities. Guillaume de St. Amour objected that religious had no business to compete with the laity for the professorial chairs; but the answer to this was perfectly obvious, for had it not been for the religious there would have been in many dioceses and monasteries no theological masters at all. Even Matthew Paris, who was always too devoted to concrete historical matters to have much sympathy with scholasticism in its "attempt to penetrate the secret counsels of God" (*Mag. Chron. ann.*, 1243) bears witness to the theological courses given by the friars within the greater English abbeys. The Dominicans, therefore, were driven to fill the vacancies which had so dismayed Pope and Council. Each priory had at least one professor, whose business it was to give public lectures; and these the whole community, even the prior when not otherwise occupied, was commanded to attend; for the whole Order was organized on an intellectual basis, and designed to make every convent a citadel of the faith and every friar a crusader for truth. But not only did the Dominicans in this way become themselves almost as much a Guild of Masters as the universities had become, battling indeed with the universities on almost equal terms, but many of the professors

[1] *Cf.* Mortier, vol. i, p. 224 note.

themselves in the first enthusiasm of the friar movement became Dominicans. Two of the chairs of Paris, one of the chairs of Oxford became in this way permanently occupied by the Preachers. Moreover, it was discovered that by this Christian learning stood largely to gain, for as friars they could be quickly transferred from centre to centre, from university to university, from school to school. Taking no vow of stability, as did the monks, nor any residential fellowship, as did the secular doctors, but, in the sneering phrase of Matthew Paris (to him a sneer, to them a boast), having "the world for their house and the ocean for their cloister," they were moved to whatever priory had most need of them. John of S. Giles was recalled from Paris to Oxford; Jordan of Saxony lectured indifferently in Bologna, Paris, and Oxford; Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas were regents in Paris, Bologna, Naples, Cologne, or might follow the Papal Court across Europe, yet be uninterrupted in their professorial work. Through the action of the friars, therefore, the fear felt by the bishops that the growing greatness of Paris would drain dry the schools of Christendom, and by its very exaltation of learning destroy learning altogether as a common heritage, was for ever averted.

But this very attempt to deal with the difficulties of theological lecturing so as to provide for every learned assembly, threw the Dominicans even more vigorously than ever into their intellectual crusade. A crusade, indeed, it was, for jousts and tourneys were the mediaeval method in things of argument as well as of material force for solving the problem of the better man. Speakers were really what that method trained, rather than writers, though there is certainly no lack of manuscript to prove their power with the pen. Theirs was the quick wit, the give and take of attack and counter-attack, the parrying stroke of the *distinguo*, and the rapier swift discovery of some weak joint by the rapid lunge of the *atqui*. Logic Lane in Oxford, where tradition places many such an encounter, was not unique, but typical. Now here then was the best school and practising ground for the public preacher who was to stand in market place and on hill-side and to harangue without the sheltering defence of a pulpit. He must be quick to answer as well as clear in his exposition. Wit must be his, and homely fable, and an instinctive reading of the feelings of a crowd.

So once again the universities became the home and centre of training for all the friars, for the learned theologian whose work was a clear demonstration of the mysteries of the faith, for the professor whose auditors included many beyond the limits of his Order, for the popular preacher who strolled over Europe, and even penetrated eastwards to Armenia and westwards to Greenland, who linked by the huge stretch of his

mantle Asia, Africa, and the Far West to the Holy City upon the Seven Hills.

Care, therefore, was taken that this side of the Order's work should be fostered. Students and lecturers alike were allowed exemptions from the liturgical hours which for the rest were a distinct and severe obligation. Even beyond that, the Dominican constitutions (A.D. 1228), under the direct inspiration of St. Dominic, ordained that the Divine Office was to be said "briskly and shortly, so that their devotion might not be wearisome to them nor their studies hindered." Compline alone, with its sweet-sounding *Salve Regina Misericordiae*, was to be attended as an obligation by all. Priorships and every other such office that took the interests of these professors away from studies and books to other things were forbidden them. The writing out of treatises and the copying of manuscripts for gain, both the work of the monastic orders, almost their sole form of intellectual pursuit, were considered wholly incompatible with the deeper learning which a Friar Preacher required. Personal privileges were given from Rome, rather excessively as the English Province judged, which privileges gave the students some small relaxation of a yearly holiday with friends or the right of disposing of property within the Order, or of wearing linen next the skin. The registers of the Master-General during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are little else than lists of such exemptions, designed to keep within the Order everyone who could help on the great work of intellect. But the most dearly prized of all was the privacy of a separate cell, to a student indeed a welcome condition for sustained and concentrated work. Frequent reference is made to these *studia* being built by royal munificence, as when Henry III gave oaks to the friars of Oxford, Northampton, and London[1] for that purpose, and further, 12 February 1260, he allowed to the latter friars besides their timber "two thousand of free-stone to complete their studies."

John of Maren, the master of students at Lincoln, was allowed in 1390[2] to have the cell built there by Friar Ralph of Ludd, and he could not be moved from it except for some grave reason. Henry Hemdoynwindes two years later was allowed to have a cell where he could eat whenever he was ill, and to which he could invite any members of the Order who were guests at the Newcastle priory. But these were only the privileges of those who were actually professing or studying at the time, and were not personal to the individual as such.

The expenses of these study houses and of the whole student system was naturally a very severe drain on the resources of

[1] *Reliquary*, 1883, p. 146; 1880, p. 26; *Merry England*, 1889, p. 433.
[2] British Museum Add. MSS. 6716.

the particular priory. England, indeed, at first held out against the establishment of such a centre at Oxford, no doubt being particularly conscious of the debts which actually burdened the Paris convent, so that the Master-General was forced to remove the provincial from office in order to secure its establishment. But by that time (1261) a system was gradually being worked out whereby the priory was relieved of much of its financial strain. For one thing a regular pension was finally settled which was considered adequate. This was raised by a tax on every house in the Province, graduated according to the supposed condition of each. A professor in France or in England, whether a master or a bachelor, was considered to require twenty florins, while the students could rub along on fifteen. At King's Langley, Edward II found it necessary to pay for each friar in alms five marks a year,[1] which works out at about £3 10*s.* annually; this is strange, for he always considered in his gifts to other houses that a friar lived on fourpence a day. But no doubt he judged that he had already been generous enough to his foundation there. Edward III increased the rate of payment to 100*s.* for maintenance, with an additional 20*s.* for clothing. The statutes of the Order, however, made no such liberal allowance. The house of studies had indeed to provide books for all its community, but the Province was answerable for clothes, at least to the extent of two florins a year, and for books deemed needful up to four florins a year. In Paris, where demand outran supply, the foreign friars had to bring their own school books, and were not to expect after they had arrived to be able to buy any. The method of obtaining books was left to the genius of the student, who at times was punished for having satisfied his need in an unbecoming way. In the acts of the Chapter-General of Bologna (1240) we read: "Friar Bartholomew is to be deprived of his Bible on account of the infamous way he got possessed of it, and he is to prepare himself for the discipline and to submit to the penance imposed by the vicar." Friends and patrons contributed to these students. In 1289 Bishop Swinfield of Hereford makes a present of 20*s.* to Robert Bromyard, later the famous Dominican theologian, towards the various expenses of his graduating at Oxford.[2] Edward II, through his Florentine bankers, the Bardi, gives £6 for Friar Arnold of Stradley to study in Paris in 1323; and wills like the two following abound in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[3] In 1489 Alice Paddington, widow of Thomas Paddington, a London fishmonger, desires to be buried with the Ludgate Blackfriars and "oon well-disposed

[1] *Reliquary*, 1878, pp. 38, 80.

[2] *Roll of Household Expenses of Rich. of Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford* (Camden Society), vol. i, p. 145.

[3] P.R.O. *Rot. Exit. Scac. Pasch.*, 16 Ed. II, m. 10.

DOMINICAN LECTURING IN UNIVERSITY

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frere of the said Freyers prechours of London exercising his lernyng in Oxford and in Cambrigge in divinitie to sing (Mass) for my sowle and the sowles of my two late husbondes . . . in the Universities of Oxford or Cambrigge by the space of vj yeres next after my decesse."[1] In 1510 Richard Crisp of Northampton, "v yeres after my decesse" bequeaths to the four orders of friars there "to them that be students in divinitie in Oxford ij and in Cambridge other ij, every yere to have xx*s.* apece till the some of xxli*s.* be spent, to pray for my sowle."[2] In 1511 an English friar studying in Paris obtained leave from the Master-General to come home "to raise the necessary funds" and then to return to his university.[3] No doubt the English Province had somehow failed to provide for him; or perhaps his benefactor had died or was unable to continue the necessary support. Gradually, however, these precarious aids were consolidated and organized on a firmer and more permanent basis. Burses or *studentiae* were established attached to particular convents, and endowments out of province funds and supported by an annual taxation of every priory made them part of the educational organization of the English Dominicans, for it must be remembered that France and England were considered the most intellectual centres of western thought. Paris and Oxford had no equals in all Christendom, and were legislated for in all the General Chapters of the Order as apart from, and above every other university. Hence the English and French friars boasted of opportunities for study such as none others could rival, and in depth of style and brilliancy of thought contributed overwhelmingly to the learned glories of the Order. Individuals like Aquinas, the Italian, and Albert, the German, towered above the rest; but in bulk and numbers the French and English friars were easily the leaders of Dominican thought; such were Peter of Tarantaise, Palude, Kilwardby, Macclesfield, Hotham, Holcot. For it is not to be supposed that in an Order like that of the Preaching Friars the studies were left to the whim or fancy of any particular provincial or prior. The whole of Europe was theirs to draw from, and they made splendid use of their golden opportunities. The main lines of the educational organization of the Order depended upon certain principles, which may be thus tabulated:

(*a*) Each priory can have students.
(*b*) Each priory must have a professor.

Hence we have to begin by conceiving each convent of the English Dominicans as a place of studies where lectures were being given. Priests and preachers who had spent many years in apostolic labours, or who, it may be, had directed the

[1] *Antiquary*, vol. xxiv, p. 173. [2] Wills, P.C.C., 35 Bennett.
[3] Add. MSS., 6716.

consciences of kings or taken no mean place in foreign diplomacy were exempted from these lectures only at the personal discretion of the Master-General. Further, students were often, indeed, generally to be found in each house, and had to be instructed in what was then considered necessary for a Dominican education. But besides these studies established in every convent, there were special places set apart for separate courses of instruction, and from these students would gradually get transferred till they had finally received the full curriculum laid down by the *ratio Studiorum* of the Order. Then above these linked groups of houses were the twin Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where these lower classes of studies were indeed pursued, but besides were to be found the highest available learning that Christendom could boast. The more brilliant students and the more successful professors were gathered here from all England, and were then sent out back into their priories to preach or administer or lecture themselves again, or might stay on for more years engaged in literary or professorial pursuits.

The General Chapter of London in 1314 laid it down that wherever fourteen students could be found, theology and philosophy or some tractate of "Friar Thomas" were of obligation, the theology occupying the whole year, and the philosophy being read concomitantly from Easter till the beginning of August. The Chapter held, once more in London, in 1335 further provided that in every province schools of theology and philosophy, which latter was to include also the arts, were at once to be established. This really had by that date actually become the practice, so that this decree is rather to be looked upon as regularizing an existing institution than as the beginning of a new procedure.

Naturally the first stage in the arrangement of the studies was the establishment of grammar schools. At first it is to be supposed that the friars were drawn from the ranks of university scholars or lecturers, and were therefore in no need of acquiring the rudiments of grammar; but it is clear that very soon boys were accepted before they had really completed even this elementary knowledge. There are frequent references to these boy-novices, and even of preachers who went into the grammar schools to give conferences and hear confessions, and so attract to them many hardly more than mere children. Later this was looked on as the scandal of the Order in almost every province. The author of the *Philobiblon* thus rebukes the English friars: "With summer fruit, as the people gossip, ye attract boys to religion, whom when they have taken the vows ye do not instruct by fear and force as their age requires, but allow them to devote themselves to begging expeditions, and suffer them to spend the time in which they might be learning, in procuring the favour of friends to the annoyance

of their parents, the danger of the boys, and the detriment of the Order. And thus no doubt it happens that those who were not compelled to learn as unwilling boys, when they grow up presume to teach though utterly unworthy and unlearned, and a very small error in the beginning becomes a very great one in the end. For there grows up among your promiscuous flock of lay brethren a pestilent multitude of creatures, who nevertheless, the more shamelessly force themselves into the office of preaching the less they understand what they are saying to the contempt of the Divine Word and the injury of souls . . . ye enter on the labours of others, ye repeat the lessons of others, ye mouth with theatric effect the superficially repeated wisdom of others. . . . Make your young men, who, though ignorant, are apt of intellect, apply themselves to study, furnishing them with necessaries, that ye may teach them not only goodness but discipline and science, may terrify them by blows, charm them by blandishments, mollify them by gifts, and urge them on by painful rigour so that they may become at once Socratics in morals and Peripatetics in learning" (chap. vi, p. 42-45).

But this scathing attack on fourteenth century Dominican youth shows how the laws of the Order had become disregarded. Yet we do find references to the establishment of grammar schools in the province, such as in London, where among the "obits and chauntereys kepte within the Blacke fryers within the Citie of London by perpetuall fundacion" occurs "item for ij prests daily syngynge the fyrst mas and the last masse within the seid fryers, and a scole master of grammar paid by the goldsmythys—xiij*li* vj*s* viij*d*."[1] The obits, too, of the Guildford Priory, which, like the London list, gives no date for each particular, mention Friar Galfrid, who once had been "Master of Schools at Guildford," and Richard Francis (1440), the Dominican Anchorite of Lynn, wrote several books on grammar for the use of boys, implying the existence of such a grammar school at his convent. Quite at the end, too, of the mediaeval period (1520), "Friar Clement Guadel of the convent of Yarm, is assigned to the aforesaid convent of Yarm, and the prior is ordered not to occupy him in any convent and office, but to allow him, when divine office is over, to go to the Grammar Schools."[2] But how far these can be taken as proofs of any general teaching of grammar it is impossible to say. Certain it is that all novices who failed to satisfy the examiners in morals and knowledge were ordered to be rejected immediately; though the author of the *Philobiblon* makes us realize that such an injunction was not by any means always enforced.

[1] *Merry England*, 1889, p. 272; *Reliquary*, 1887, p. 14; *Archaeological Journal*, 1884, p. 145.

[2] Add. MSS., 6716.

Next above the schools of grammar were the schools of arts. In the earliest constitutions of 1228, the study of arts was decidedly discouraged, for no one was at all allowed to work at "the books of the gentiles and the philosophers"; and even to consult them and occasionally inspect their arguments was considered to be likely to cause danger. Secular science and the liberal arts could indeed by special dispensation of the Master-General or General Chapter be taken up; but even this was permitted only after two whole years had been spent in the Order, for the newly professed had first to acquaint themselves with the liturgy, with the customs of the Order, and some sort of science, but not the arts. But this attitude of suspicion and jealousy soon gave way to a complete acceptance. The fifth Master-General notices the change of attitude: "First no one was allowed, then it was permitted, but with discretion and rarely; but now finally the reins are altogether loosened" (Opera, I, 435). Certainly in 1259 each province was actually commanded to open such "a school of arts where the young might be taught," and in 1261 this was finally confirmed: "Let the younger friars and those who are apt in learning be instructed in logic." There are traces of such schools in England, though the references are of considerably later date and do not allow us to determine whether the convents referred to held their lectures continuously. In 1476 a friar of Chester, Thomas Roberts, was appointed professor of the liberal arts at Glasgow.[1] In 1505 Friar Sebastian of Worcester became a student of arts in Oxford.[2] But judging from the analogy of other provinces it would appear that probably at King's Langley the young friars spent all their earliest years of studies, and were only drafted to the other convents when their arts-studies and previous education had been completed. The other references, however, do imply that some at least of the priories had their own arts-schools as well. Glasgow, where the Dominicans inaugurated and sheltered the University, may well have needed a professor as much for external students as for the friars themselves; and Oxford, with Cambridge, were unique among other houses in that within their walls the whole cycle of Dominican learning could be completed.

The next stage of proficiency above grammar and arts, was philosophy. For this it may be asserted, again on the analogy of what obtained abroad, there were separate convents where this particular branch of study was taught. To them, when the time came, such students were transferred as were deemed sufficiently clever; thus was Gerard Coke in 1397 sent by the Master-General to Lynn that for two years he might pursue his course (*auditor philosophiæ*).[3] But we have no certain

[1] Add. MSS., 6716. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

proof of the existence of these houses, beyond this one bare reference, though in their dispute with the Oxford University the friars claimed to have studied logic, philosophy, and theology both within the University and outside it. Still here again little definite conclusion can be drawn, for they may refer to their own lectures in Oxford or some years spent abroad or to more general topics which might be learnt in the ordinary priory schools. Elsewhere, and it is probable that the English friars followed the general custom of the Order, the study of philosophy occupied another two years of the students' course.

The third and highest stage of all was, of course, the study of theology. For this, separate convents were certainly marked out where the full course of theology could be regularly and formally conducted. Each province had to have such a priory; indeed, most provinces had more than one. England, which in no way at all fell behind the rest in intellectual activity, and, indeed, could be rivalled only by France, had several which may well have been grouped under the various visitations into which this Province was divided; for since there were over fifty priories in England and Wales their effective government and organization became an extremely difficult matter. Hence the country was divided into groups of convents, which, though subject to the provincial and the chapter in all legislative matters, were administered and regulated in their executive affairs by particular friars called Visitors. It seems a plausible theory that each of these visitations had its own house of solemn studies, as the official title was. There is, to repeat, no proof of this, but it is a conjecture which bears with it considerable probability. We read of a master of studies and a lector of theology (both official titles in the houses of solemn studies) at Lincoln in 1390; of a regent in Hereford in 1400; of a lector and doctor of theology in Guildford, where also in 1397 theological students are expressly mentioned. Such students were also to be found at Ipswich and Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1397, at Norwich in 1398, at London in 1475.[1] This would satisfy quite fairly the desires of the visitations of London, Salisbury or Exeter, York, Oxford, and Cambridge.

These last two houses were naturally places apart, for the Dominican Order placed above its solemn study its *Studium Generale*. The purpose for this special title was to signify such houses as would be of advantage to the whole Order. London and Lincoln and Hereford and Newcastle-on-Tyne might satisfy the requirements of the English Province in its normal state, and might quite splendidly equip the friar to be a professor for the pulpit; but there was far more work to be done than that or than could be possibly completed in such

[1] Add. MSS., 6716.

small compass as a provincial or even capital town. There was need of the universities of the world. For it must be remembered that in the Middle Ages universities and learning generally had far more influence over public opinion and far greater national importance than they have to-day. Now a professor is supposed to be an absent-minded monomaniac who considers his special hobby of sole interest in the world. Then a professor lectured on every conceivable subject in every great city of the Western world, and would be asked as a matter of course to advise on political schemes and ideas, to settle international disputes, to direct the theories of coinage and exchange, to suggest the incidents of taxation. It is said that of the three great powers that between them ruled the whole of Christendom (namely, the *Imperium* or civil government, the *Sarcerdotium* or ecclesiastical corporation, and the *Studium* or universities) the most powerful by far, taking the place in modern life held by press and parliament, was the *Studium*.

For this reason, therefore, quickened by the added sense of the need which each friar preacher had for opportunities of the highest educational training, the Dominicans set on the pinnacle of their organization the university convents. The General Chapter of 1305 held at Genoa, which regulated and set right so much that had been found unsatisfactory in the state of students and studies, in one of its decrees enables us to understand the order and arrangement of the course of studies: "Concerning those sent to houses of study we ordain:—First, that no one shall be sent to study logic unless he shall have spent well and religiously at least two years in the Order or else has come later in life to the Order after having already studied logic when he was in the world. Nor shall any one be sent to study natural philosophy unless he has studied logic for at least three years either in the Order or in the world, and is considered on the evidence of a lector and master to be sufficiently learned. Nor shall they be sent to study the Book of the Sentences (*i.e.*, theology) until they have for two whole years studied natural philosophy. Moreover, while they are studying logic and natural philosophy they shall repeat each day their lectures and each week shall say them to their master, who shall be obliged to hear them. No one shall be sent to a house of general studies, either in his own province or outside of it, until he shall have studied the logic and natural philosophy in the order just laid down, and shall have attended lectures in theology in some special convent for at least two years; and unless on the evidence of the lector, the cursor, and the master of students, there is real hope of his proving an apt and capable professor. In these houses of general studies let the master of students, unless legitimately hindered, hold

disputations every week of the year between one or other of his pupils. These chief lectors shall hold their classes continuously until the feast of St. John at least. All the brethren, too, shall go each day to the schools and attend the lectures (unless for some reasonable cause they shall have been dispensed by the prior or his vicar) under penalty of being deprived for that day of wine and the extra course at dinner. And if priors do not see to the observance of these penalties they shall be obliged themselves to undergo them, otherwise let them be sharply proceeded against on the evidence of the Visitors at the Provincial Chapter. Further, those students who are found by the provincial to be exceedingly negligent in their attendance at the scholastic exercises, or incapable, shall be dismissed from their studies and some other occupation shall be found for them."

The General Chapter of Toulouse in 1328, lamenting the decline in the studies, repeats the same enactment: "None should be promoted to holy orders nor sent to study logic until they are proficient in grammar, nor should they be sent to study philosophy until they are proficient in logic. Nor should any be sent to study theology until they are considered proficient in grammar, logic, and philosophy."

These houses of general study to which only exceptional merit gave an entrance were few even in the days of the Order's greatest glory. England had from the first Oxford and then Cambridge as well; in France and the other provinces were a few more as Paris and Bologna. There were besides a few convents devoted to special studies, such as the priories devoted in Spain to the study of Arabic and the missionary schools, where the languages of the East were taught to those volunteering for such enterprises, and the convent of Sens, where numerous friars had been specially collected to work on a revision of the Latin version of the Scriptures. But apart from these exceptional priories the rest of the province was symmetrically arranged for the methodical prosecution of study.

Scripture, which meant so much to an Order devoted to preaching, was a lifelong study, and it seems to have run concurrently with every other lesson. It was taught in every friary, almost by every professor, and formed no doubt the staple subject on which were given the daily lectures in every house of Dominicans ordained by the Constitutions.

It will be seen then that there was a regular and ordered course through which each student passed. He entered as a novice and remained for two years without at all advancing in the special studies of the priesthood. Grammar was allowed, and eventually the acquiring of foreign languages, for without some such sufficiency no one was admitted to profession, but the main portion of the time was devoted to spiritual direc-

tion, to understanding the Breviary and Missal, to grasping the Constitutions and laudable customs of the Order, to learning by heart the psalter and certain portions of the Divine Office. It was rather intended as the chief formative period in the spiritual development of the novice than for acquaintance with scholastic exercises of learning. He was being broken in to the life he had chosen, got into the right attitude in which to take up the sacred tools he was later to use. Truth may be, indeed is, the most fortifying thing alive: but it is also a two-edged sword, to be swung carefully, though firmly, with dexterity and strength.

The opening of his study came in logic. Here there were many text-books of unequal merit which brought into the mediaeval times the wisdom of earlier ages: the works of Boethius, the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the *Summæ Logicales* of Pope John XXI, the *Parva Logicalia* of Massilius of Inghen. From these he passed to philosophy, mental, moral, and physical, which began at first to be largely Platonist, but in the end became wholly Aristotelian. Here Boethius and the later exponents, representing the traditions of classic Greek, gave way in the Dominican Order to the works of Aristotle and to their direct Christian commentators and exponents. For Theology, the great author was Peter Lombard, till the *Summa* of Aquinas ousted from their place the Sentences. From the *Margarita Philosophica* of Gregor Reisch (Strasbourg, 1504) we gather the orthodox progress of theological learning. The frontispiece exhibits a shrinking youth led by Nicostrata to the house of learning. Here through five stories he achieves his complete education. A bachelor of arts, rod in hand, informs him of the wisdom of Donatus, then Priscian is learnt; then Aristotle teaches logic, Cicero rhetoric, Boethius arithmetic. The fourth story adds music, geometry, and astronomy. Above, Pliny and Seneca welcome him, halving philosophy as physical and moral. Highest of all, the overbearing form of Peter Lombard dwarfs into insignificance his predecessors and lower teachers. On the whole it is a perfect representation of the earliest wisdom of the first Dominicans.

The selection of students, made by the provincial and the Provincial Chapter, was clearly an annual arrangement. The Visitors reported on the subjects of their particular visitation, and took the witness of the professors as to the qualifications and possibilities of each young friar. Thus gradually, according to merit, the students passed on from one stage to the next. Only those who had continuously shown promise were taken up through the complete course, for in the province there were many positions and much work that could be accomplished without intellectual activity, and for such the friars who had failed in their studies were selected, the

object of good government being to secure that each shall be employed in the work most congenial to him.

But over and above the normal method of appointment by provincial and chapter there were other local customs. Under date 1397 the register of the Master-General (Blessed Raymond of Capua) notifies that the election of Friar William Snayth and John Ridisdal to the studentships of Newcastle-on-Tyne, made by the sub-prior and brethren of that convent, is accepted and ratified, though only a few days later it is declared that "the students who had been elected in the convent of Newcastle-on-Tyne against the statutes of that convent and the ordinances of the Provincial Chapters were not students."[1] It is clear also from the whole series of registers for the fourteenth century that the Masters-General continuously used the power allowed them by the constitutions of the Order, and frequently themselves interfered to promote or cassate students. This would not necessarily mean that a report from each province had to be sent to them annually, but only that appeals were frequently made by individuals who had grown dissatisfied with the drudgery of the schools, or who, on the other hand, were out of patience with the want of recognition of their brilliance. In either case the disappointed friar wrote off to the General or the Chapter-General for justice.

The appointment of the professors themselves was obviously an even more important business. The progress of the studies of the Order depended very largely on the qualifications and energy of the staff and on the interest which they themselves took in the work. Hence all the commentators on the Rule in the thirteenth century insisted strongly on the observance of the visitation of the houses of study. Novelties and unorthodox interpretations were rigorously to be excluded from the lectures, but at the same time Humbert de Romans takes care to point out the need for the professors to be original in their way of lecturing.[2] If they keep only to the text and read dry disquisitions no one will be inflamed with the desire for study. Let men put as much of themselves as possible into their work. Lectures, indeed, were of two kinds; there were solemn or ordinary lectures which were held in the mornings, and were to a large extent verbal commentaries on the text-book given with minute and meticulous care. After St. Thomas's *Summa* had become the great theological treatise of the church, General Chapter after General Chapter is found urging the professors to lecture on the articles and questions *word for word*. Such solemn or ordinary lectures

[1] Add. MSS., 6716.

[2] *Opera*, vol. i, p. 459; *Nihil magnificum docebit quia se nihil didicit.* He blames those who, *nil de suo proferentes*, trust only to the words of others.

were the special privilege of the master, and supposed immense learning. After the article had been read thus with detailed analysis, the whole body of doctrine was then carefully restated so that the whole wood as well as each tree might be seen and understood. But in the afternoon took place the "extraordinary" lectures, which were given *cursorie—i.e.*, merely a popular digest and disquisition on the whole matter without much attention to the wording of the author. As an example of this, we find at the end of MS. Royal 6, CIX (Brit. Mus.): "The price of this book was paid by Friar Nicholas Stremer at Evesham, A.D. 1488, who at the time was cursory professor at London." For such lectures a bachelor sufficed, who was known as the cursor. Naturally this latter form was much more popular than the more solemn, since to the eager and youthful mind it suggested more tangible and practical views of the abstract science. So popular indeed did it become that year after year the Chapters-General protested against its growing importance. The text was forgotten, the masterpiece unknown; the notes of some superficial lecturer were handed down and became the easy means of acquiring ready knowledge.

A quotation which we have earlier made on the full course to be pursued by Dominican students mentions as part of the system the need for "repetitions." This was ordained to be made every day; but, in addition, every week there was to be a solemn repetition made to the master or professor. A code of the Dainville College (R. S. Rait, *Life in a Mediaeval University*, 1912, Cambridge, p. 145), explains what this means. Speaking about those "who study humane letters," it decrees: "At the end of the week, that is, on Friday or Saturday, they shall show up to their master a *résumé* of all the lectures they have learned that week, and every day before they go to the schools they shall be bound to make repetitions to one of the philosophers, or of the theologians whom the master shall choose for this work." Earlier it speaks of the same system: "One after another shall repeat the whole lecture so that each of them may know it well, and the less advanced shall be bound daily to repeat the lectures to the more proficient." The idea of teaching in the Middle Ages among the Dominicans always kept its main purpose in view, namely, to produce preachers. Hence, whatever might keep alive a ready wit and a power of quick exposition of some point or argument, was obviously the best possible training. Mediaeval teaching, as a whole, marched in the same direction, but Dominican teaching was even more devoted to this system; the disputes of Thomist and Scotist are now a war of pens, but then a war of tongues.

To provide for the staff of the *Studia*, whether merely local or the larger and more solemn colleges, was again the work

of provincial and chapter. Every year the Visitors entered in their registers, and filed for reference the names of the more brilliant students and those that showed promise of professorial success. A logic lecturer must have studied logic for two years and natural philosophy for another two; a lecturer in natural philosophy had further to have completed his two years of theology; a lecturer in theology (the solemn morning-lecturer, not the cursor or more superficial professor), besides his two years of theology had to have secured two years of study in a house of general studies; a *lector principalis* or first lector (though this does not necessarily imply that there were other professors with him in the same priory, as the *Acta* of 1305 distinctly state) had in addition to all this to have lectured in a *studium generale* for two years, whether as bachelor, or cursor, or master. In England, therefore, it was incumbent on each such lector to have first gained a degree at Oxford or Cambridge. This is amply borne out by the register of the Master-General, for in 1397 Friar John Cawd was appointed lector principalis at Newcastle-on-Tyne; but earlier, in 1394, we find him sent to Oxford to lecture on the Sentences. Two years then of lecturing had fitted him for his post of taking charge of the Newcastle *Studium*. The term of teaching varied; but four or five years was considered quite long enough. The chapter of 1334 judged that after that period a lecturer had a tendency to become stale. His first year was hard work, for it required energy to keep pace not with his pupils' learning, but with their questions. His second and third and fourth years matured his matter and gave him leisure for thought and private special studying. After five years he had collected his bundle of notes, and was inclined to settle down to an easy life. He must be dug up and sent elsewhere, or even removed from academic to evangelistic work. The students, in the democratic earlier days, used to vote on their professors, and their demand for an extension of his term or for his instant removal was then carried to the chapter. But this occasioned over-much quarrelling. Professors had to be absent, naturally, when such voting took place; but evidently they had their partisans who indulged in "disturbances," and by their turbulent conduct produced the rescinding of that earlier decree. In any case, as we have already stated, the chapter knew from the Visitors which, among professors and students, were best qualified for their work. Not only was their sufficiency of learning taken into account, but their aptitude for imparting knowledge and their general moral character were mentioned as well. The chapter then had the appointment of all professors in their hands, though the Master-General and the Chapter-General often themselves took over the more serious and important chairs. Hardly a General Chapter from the

fourteenth century onwards, but gives a list of such professors removed, dismissed, transferred. But in 1320 the three great convents of Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, were given local autonomy. They could co-opt their own professors. Still, even so, the master and chapter went merrily on, interfering whenever they thought fit.

Naturally the master of students got an increasing share in the power of appointment. He knew best both pupils and lecturers. Their privileges were in his care against the encroachment of prior or provincial. Their morals were entrusted to his watchful guidance. The whole organized scheme of lectures, the time devoted to each subject, the matters treated of, the disputations held, the number of scholastic exercises the whole year through, had to be reported by him to his superior authority, to the Master-General in the houses of general studies, to the provincial in the case of the lesser *studia*. He could not appoint or determine; but he had necessarily to report, and this report must normally have had considerable effect on the career of professor as well as student. His position as correspondent-manager of the convent studies was thus in practice very powerful. In theory he was inferior to the full and solemn lecturer, and only preceded in all official functions the *cursor*. Indeed, the cursor most ordinarily became a master of students before his final promotion, having this secretarial and critical office to enable him to watch more experienced professors at work, and so escape their failures and increase their output of success. Yet while thus acting as secretary to the staff, he had duties that implied actual lecturing as well; but the subjects assigned to him were less strenuous. He took natural philosophy or some treatise of "Friar Thomas," and gave personal and original (though certainly not very profound) lectures to all the students of the house. He was a kind of general-knowledge professor and could find excuse for almost any subject he chose to take. The mediaeval *quodlibets* or questions not discussed in the text-books, represent, in all probability, the leisured fancy of a master of students.

The long disputes with the university authorities at Oxford (which the next chapter will detail) produced certain results in the organized scheme of English Dominican studies, and modified slightly the order of promotion. Further disputes between the English friars and their Scotch and Irish brethren added further complications, which were again affected by a quarrel with the Master-General in Rome. Cardinals in Rome were appointed to sit on commissions and sift the evidence. Royal proclamations forbade certain enactments to be attended to within the realm. Provincials refused to accept the decisions or abide by the dispensations of the Master-General. The Provincial Chapter in 1388 held at the Blackfriars of

Lincoln formulated definite English rules which every master in theology was to swear to observe. Condemned, annulled, and declared void, they yet appear to have controlled, though certainly not always, the higher appointments of the English friars till the cataclasm of the Reformation. They are grouped under four headings :[1]

(*a*) No one henceforth is to attempt the Bachelauriat of Theology either at Oxford or Cambridge before he has for two years "opposed" in the schools.

(*b*) No one is to be promoted to the mastership by letters procured either for himself or another.

(*c*) No one is to be promoted to any place already held by a master in the province, nor to lecture *cursorie* nor to any university either in Ireland or Scotland.

(*d*) No one is to be a master unless he swears to the above.

These were of course intended to impose limits on the power of the Chapter-General and the Master-General, but the English friars considered that their peculiar conditions required some such legislation. Many disputes followed, which resulted in making the province less interested in the general welfare of the Order, more isolated, and thereby, perhaps, more easily succumbing to the blows delivered by Henry VIII.

Yet before the English Province was broken up by the Reformation Parliaments it had performed no mean task. In Canon Law it had produced Bromyard[2] who had also done much to expound and co-ordinate the civil law. He was one of those types of minds which revel in dictionaries and encyclopedias. He drew out alphabetical treatises on law, and worked into the same handy form the whole matter of morals. Hotham,[3] intellectually the most brilliant member of the Pre-Reformation Province, in this order of study is responsible only for a famous tractate or *Oratio* in French on the claim of Edward I to the Scotch Crown. It was considered by the English critics (though probably not by the Scotch ones) a masterly and convincing array of arguments. It is curious that Nicholas Trivet[4] and Robert Holcot,[5] who both wrote voluminously and were actually the sons of English judges, should have left civil and canon law severely alone. Hotham took part in the controversy on the Beatific Vision, and defended the Thomistic position. He was ably seconded by Robert Orford,[6] and was connected as the next chapter will show with the lively dispute that brought poor Claypole to ruin. Hugh of

[1] Mortier, vol. iii. p. 655. Note that clause (*b*) was solemnly ratified by the Gen. Chap. of Frankfort (Reichert, vol. iii, p. 95).

[2] Echard, vol. i, p. 700.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 385, 459.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 561; vol. ii, p. 819.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 629; vol. ii, p. 821.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 431.

Ducton,[1] a Cambridgeshire man and an Oxford professor, compiled (1339) a whole book on *The Controversies of the Schools*, a handbook by a warrior for warriors. Kilwardby,[2] Oxford professor, provincial, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Bishop of Porto, belonged to the pre-Thomistic school and violently attacked the new and growing philosophy. But William of Macclesfield[3] and Thomas Jorz[4] (both of whom were also created Cardinals) defended with able wit the younger generation. Of William Andrews of Guildford, a theologian and Bishop of Meath, Ware pathetically remarks that like Socrates he was expected to write many books, yet he wrote none. Another well-known writer on theological subjects was Thomas Claxton[5] of Boston Priory, an Oxford graduate and a strenuous opponent of Wycliffe. His commentary on the Sentences was found in 1681 in the library of S. Maria Novella in Florence. In the first volume was an inscription, stating that it had been bought for 50 ducats, a goodly price, by Master Laurence Gheradino,[6] O.P., when he was in England. This Dominican friar had studied in England and was confessor to Queen Margaret of Anjou. With her he went into exile in France and was dismissed in 1470 when she had finally lost heart in her attempts to recover her husband's kingdom. During his study days he no doubt learnt what the English friars had to give, and accepted the teaching of their school, for they had a distinct body of doctrine and a powerful influence in the scholastic world. Alone among the followers of St. Thomas, the English Dominicans taught the Immaculate Conception, professedly having learnt it from the writings of Aquinas. But here no doubt as elsewhere they were considerably affected by English traditions, for more here than elsewhere was that belief piously inculcated. It is probable, too, that the province as a whole clung tenaciously to the Thomistic side of the controversy with the Scotists, though earlier they had defended the older Platonism against the Aristotelian tendency of the new generation.

In Scripture also the English Dominicans were abreast of their fellow friars. Endless commentaries and *postillae* are to be found in old college libraries at Oxford and Cambridge and across the seas, which were composed by members of the province. Trivet, whose genius is of course most famous in the line of history, wrote also a treatise on the Psalter, dedicated to his provincial, John of Bristol. Holcot's commentary on the book of Wisdom is a classic, which has frequently been reprinted. Dry as it often is, a certain distinction of style gives it a dignity and worth which lifts it above the

[1] Echard, vol. i, p. 595.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 374.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 493.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 508.
[5] Echard, vol. i, p. 730.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 825.

common stream of such commentaries. Indeed hardly a friar lectured at all, or preached, or wrote, and did not include among his literary remains a commentary on the Scriptures. The Middle Ages inherited few great books or great classics, and had few masterpieces within its reach, but what it had it appreciated. The Bible, the book of the Sentences, the writings of Aristotle, later the *Summa* and the *Divina Commedia*, were almost alone their whole stock in trade; but these were thoroughly known and valued. So full had become the knowledge that was then possible, that the commentaries were often dull repetitions or fantastic nonsense. Everything had been said, the books were known by heart, the meaning was traditional; hence the ending of the scholastic age was pitiful, pathetic. A vigorous, exceptional intelligence like Cardinal Cajetan could make both Bible and *Summa* the source of a subtle and original speculation, that mark him as the creator of modern scripture-exegesis and modern philosophic speculation. But Cardinal Cajetan was a man apart.

The great English contribution to Scripture-study was the Concordance. Hugh of S. Cher,[1] Provincial of France and the first Dominican Cardinal, had deep interest in Biblical learning. With much boldness and some success he attempted to correct according to the original Greek and Hebrew, the received text of the Vulgate, called the *Exemplar Parisiense.* It was an enormous undertaking for that age, which had little critical apparatus, or means of achieving any. Roger Bacon, who confessed that he did nothing himself,[2] laughed at the result; our own generation has appreciated better its extraordinary value. Then S. Cher set to work on the first concordance, which gave references to every word in the Bible, grouping the words alphabetically, and showing the places where they occurred. This idea was seized upon by the English Dominicans under the direction of John of Darlington,[3] Richard of Stavensby, and Robert of Croydon,[4] and these three drew up the arrangement still in use. They quoted not the word simply as the French friars had done, but the whole phrase and thus gave at a glance, not only the bare reference, but the context, and thereby the precise sense which the word bore in the passage.

The English Province therefore took its place with the rest of the Order in its organized establishment of studies. At Oxford first the friars settled in a permanent priory, at Oxford were their first public lectures, their first professors. They began their real work in England by opening schools of theology and philosophy. Gradually over the whole of Christendom the Dominicans drew up a system of learning

[1] Echard, vol. i, p. 149.
[2] *Opus Tertium* (R.S.), p. 13.
[3] Echard, vol. i, p. 395.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 209.

to meet their own requirements, and to furnish the Church with those schools of Christian learning which without them and before their time she had, since the University of Paris began, found herself unable to establish. In England no less than abroad, the cathedral towns found in the Dominican Priories professors whose lectures supplied their own needs. When the friars' school at Hereford languished, it was the Dean of the Cathedral who wrote to the provincial to complain.[1] They took a leading part in the learned society of the West. But also within their own ranks they built up a course of study which made each friar a well-cultured man. Grammar, logic, philosophy, theology, made his mind critical, ready, full. If these studies were passed with brilliance, then before the eager student were placed the splendid schools of Oxford and Cambridge. It is true that this was a fine theory which practice did not always confirm. Friars there were (in the face of mediaeval literature it cannot be denied) ignorant, narrow, foolish. But Wycliffe in his day accused them only of socialism or communism, and traced their political theories, not to their ignorance, but to their learning; and *Piers Plowman* as rudely rates them for thus following Plato and Aristotle.

The *Philobiblon*, their severest critic, acknowledges their intellectual supremacy among the religious orders of the fourteenth century in England.

[1] *Reliquary*, 1882, p. 23.

CHAPTER IV

AT OXFORD

THE intellectual history of the province naturally is grouped round the priory at Oxford. Here was the supreme training ground of the young friars, the summit of the organized studies of the English Dominicans. Here, too, was established the first Dominican priory in these islands, for on the arrival of the little band, despatched as the last official act of St. Dominic and reaching England in the first days of August, or at the end of July, it moved from Canterbury to London and from London to Oxford on August the 15th, exactly nine days after St. Dominic's death. The purpose of the Order is evident from the actions of these friars, since they began at once to open public schools in connection with the University. It is their second recorded official appearance. One of their number had preached before Cardinal Stephen Langton at Canterbury, and had thereby secured for them the patronage of that great prelate. Now they had begun to teach, for it must be remembered that the motive of the children of St. Dominic has been twofold (*a*) to teach truth by preaching; (*b*) to preach truth by teaching, to announce the word of God from the pulpit to the people, and from the professor's chair to the people's leaders. For this double object then a university was of necessity, first that the friars might learn and secondly that they might teach.

This first settlement at Oxford was made within the Jewry.[1] At once benefactors came to their aid, especially the canons of St. Frideswide and the Abbot of Westminster, while all along the royal munificence, as elsewhere in England, was their continual support. This small oratory with its two bells and its tiny churchyard was dedicated to Our Lady, as it was on the feast of her Assumption that they had come, and her figure remained engraved on their seal even after their second priory was built. Already within twenty-five years of their arrival, the Oxford friars had outgrown the small limits set by the canons of St. Frideswide for their domain in the Jewry, their work had increased, their numbers had multiplied, their importance in the divinity schools of the University had also evidently become manifest; by the King's appointment their new abode was fixed on a river island in the south of the town, outside the south gate. Henry III gave the land itself, or at least his rights over the land, while the two chief personages then living in the neighbourhood, Isabel de Vere, the widowed Countess of Oxford, and Walter Mauclerk, Bishop of Carlisle and finally a Dominican himself, by their gifts of money, meadows, and kind were

[1] *Reliquary*, Jan.-April, 1883.

looked upon as the founders of the second priory. From 1238 to 1245 the building went on; then on the feast of All Saints in solemn procession the friars went out from their miniature priory and took possession of the fine new place, though with a sentiment which we are apt to imagine to be purely modern, they waited till the feast of the Assumption, 1246, before celebrating Mass in the church. It was exactly twenty-five years to the day since they had said Mass first of all in the city of Oxford. Not till 1262, on 15 June, was the church consecrated by the diocesan, Bishop Benedict de Gravesend of Lincoln.

But it is not the history of the priory that will be recorded here, since the history of each religious house is monotonously similar. It is rather the story of the schools that is of interest, for by special and unusual licence (for the sake of John of S. Giles, a great English professor who, according to Nicholas Trivet,[1] in the midst of an impassioned harangue to an assembly of clergy at Paris, had left the pulpit to receive the Dominican habit and had returned clothed in white and black to finish his oration), in their earliest days the friars had two schools in the Jewry. This privilege was renewed to the second priory, where the solemn acts of divinity were performed in the church and chapter-house, and those of philosophy were held in the priory. By Papal ordinance the friars had licence here to review, correct, and promulgate official collections of Canon Law. Thrice were their members Chancellors of the University, Simon of Bovill in 1238 and 1244, and John Bromyard, according to Antony Wood the only man to his knowledge who had ever been Chancellor both of this and Cambridge University. Further it will be remembered that in 1246 the General Chapter ordained that the Oxford house should become a *Studium Generale* for the whole Order. Up till 1261 nothing was done, so the chapter of that year deposed the provincial for his negligence or disobedience and insisted upon the immediate establishment of this solemn study centre. The new provincial was himself a lecturer of European repute, Robert Kilwardby, and his energy was certainly devoted to the chapter's designs. New building items appear in the royal account books, new generosity and princely munificence. The foreign friars were housed and lodged and apparently heartily disliked. But before racial disturbances had time to occur, a crisis almost overwhelmed the Dominican schools in Paris and Oxford.

The history of Christendom had made the intellectual apologists of the earliest ages almost wholly of Eastern training, and had by a series of accidental occurrences resulted in the statements of theology being couched in the formularies of Plato. These were a little later re-stated with much vigour

[1] *Annales*, p. 211.

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of thought and beauty of language by the greatest of all the fathers, S. Augustine of Hippo. The schools of the West continued that tradition for another five hundred years in a condition of stiff apathy. Then came a renaissance of study, dawning with the Carolingian glories and culminating in the band of thinkers who can be conveniently grouped round the names of Abelard and St. Bernard. For another century this revival lasted till the rise of the friars, who, coming to win back the universities to the Church, again stimulated the intelligence of Europe. Hence once more the philosophy of the Faith began to be systematized and re-stated in terms of yet more developed Platonism.

Yet all the while, though impotent and commonly neglected, the philosophy of Aristotle still remained lingering among lonely writers. With his deep literary and historic insight and his attempt at grasping the development of doctrine, S. Thomas Aquinas notes the phenomenon: "For Basil and Augustine and most of the saints followed, in those parts of philosophy which are not concerned with actual truths of faith, the opinion of Plato. . . . Denis, however, almost always follows Aristotle." [1] This so-called Denis the Areopagite and, in a large sense, Boethius, were both Aristotelians. Among the Arabs, too, and Moors who hung on the fringe of Europe, the philosophy of the Stagyrite reigned supreme. Then slowly it filtered through into the Christian schools. Passing up through Spain it reached Paris, and at once occasioned a stir among the professorial body. Denounced by the theologians it took refuge in the schools of arts, where it was enthusiastically welcomed by the young laymen who were led captive by its clearness of expression, the symmetry of its design, and the scientific experiments, which it advocated and entailed. Then to the astonishment and bewilderment of traditionist professors, the leaders of the Dominican theological schools in Paris and Cologne announced themselves converts to its teaching; Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas pledged their reputations in its support. At once an attack against the friars broke out with violence. The older professors within and without the Order bitterly assailed the new doctrine as subversive of the traditions and expressions of the Fathers. Even the newer professors, men like Siger of Brabant, for whom in the sarcastic language of Albert the Great "Aristotle was a god," [2] disliked this strange and third party which criticized with keenness "the Master of those that know," for both Aquinas and Albert, while accepting the reasoning of Aristotle, protested against any assumption of authority based on the mere name of the philosopher. Both Plato and Aristotle were to be reverenced, but neither

[1] *In Sent.*, bk. ii, dist. 14, qn. 1, art. 2. Cf. *Summa Theologica*, part. i, qn. 84, art. 5.

[2] *In Physics*, bk. viii, cap. i, §. 14.

to be absolutely followed, for the mind was to be careful to seek truth. "The study of philosophy," noted Aquinas, "is not to find out what men have thought but to discover what is the truth."[1] Albert publicly proclaimed that in matters of faith and morals he would follow the teaching of Augustine against every pagan philosopher, in medicine he would prefer Galen or Hippocrates, and in natural science Aristotle to all the fathers of the Church.[2] It was an obvious position to take up, but the University was in a ferment and utterly distracted. The theological students, at the time (according to Roger Bacon,[3] who agreed with their attitude, the least reputable of the members of the University) were plainly opposed to the new teaching; while the "artists" grew enthusiastically devoted to the Dominicans. After Aquinas's death, they petitioned the General Chapter of the Order to give them the manuscripts of "Friar Thomas, which he expressly promised us," and referred to the attempts they had made to have him left at Paris and not removed to Italy in his last years. They begged, too, that among them might lie his precious relics.[4] The foremost Dominican professors, men who had fought for the liberty of the friars' schools, were scandalized at this new venture and predicted the utter collapse of the whole organization of learning. And the strife, begun on the continent, spread to Oxford.

Here at first the Dominicans, bred to the older views, refused an entrance to the Aristotelian categories. Robert Kilwardby, and, most respected by all, John of S. Giles, would have no quarter shown it. The latter especially rebuked those who, "even in theology will not be separated from Aristotle, putting tinsel in the place of gold."[5] The Franciscans, Alexander Hales, Roger Bacon, John Peckham, Duns Scotus, whose names still carry weight in theology, never relinquished their opposition, and created with vigour a warlike rival teaching. Kilwardby, indeed, as Archbishop of Canterbury and an Oxford professor, though himself a Dominican, assembled a council at Oxford, and condemned a series of propositions which included some of the principles of S. Thomas, but in order to justify his action the Archbishop added other doctrines which were thoroughly unorthodox, and had been advanced by some brilliant Paris theologians fascinated by the Moorish commentators of Aristotle. Simultaneously, and therefore it may be supposed by agreement, the Thomistic system was condemned by the Bishop in Paris on 7 March (the anniversary of the saint's death), and by the Archbishop in Oxford on 18 March 1278. Kilwardby of

[1] *De Coelo et Mundo*, bk. i, cap. xxii.
[2] *In Sent.*, bk. ii, dist. 2, qn. 13, art. 2. [3] *Opera Inedita* (R.S.), p. 412.
[4] Denifle, *Cartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. i, pp. 504, 505.
[5] Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* (1911), p. 233; *Revue Thomiste* (1896), p. 139; *Archiv für Litt. u. kirchengeschichte*, vol. v, p. 611, etc.

Canterbury, and Stephen Tempier of Paris had probably been fellow students, and were undoubtedly well known to each other. At any rate the old theologians of both universities were only too glad to be revenged on the new school by pretending to identify it with the heterodox speculation of the Averroists. Godfrey de Fontaines, though an opponent, protested at the time against this as wholly inexcusable and "in prejudice of a teaching most helpful to a student, to wit, that of the most reverend and excellent doctor, Friar Thomas, who, by the said propositions, was most unjustly defamed."[1]

In the face of this storm Rome was silent. The Papal throne was vacant, and the College of Cardinals forbade any further proceedings till a Pope should be elected; such, at least, is Peckham's statement, who was certainly present in the Eternal City in 1278, and may well have had first-hand information of the designs of the leading prelates.[2]

But the Dominican Order, as a whole, had already been won to the side of its most brilliant sons. The chapter of 1278 was shocked at Kilwardby's action and sent over at once two lectors to England to repair this "scandal to the Order." Within a few months the Pope was prevailed upon to remove the Archbishop from England, and to appoint him to a suburban see of Rome with the dignity of Cardinal. At the Papal Court he could not do as much harm to the new Dominicans as in his place of authority in England. At least, so some explain Kilwardby's promotion, though others as conjecturally suppose it to be due to political reasons. Yet John Peckham, a far more fierce opponent, a Franciscan and another Oxford graduate, was nominated his successor. Of bustling activity, which brought him into frequent quarrels with every one he came across from the King downwards, "pompous and fussy," in Trivet's phrase,[3] the new Archbishop threw himself into the struggle. He had known Friar Thomas at Paris, had heard him lecture, and had on one occasion publicly defended him from the attacks of the Dominicans. At least so he himself asserted, though one witness at the Process of Canonization told the story quite differently, for with exquisite humour he notes how on no occasion did the Saint ever show loss of temper, "even when John of Peckham impertinently tried to set him right."[4] Acting under the protection of this Archbishop, an Oxford Franciscan, William de la Mare, compiled one hundred and seventeen annotations to the works of Aquinas (forty-seven against the *Summa*, *Pars Prima*, twelve against the *Prima Secundae*, sixteen against the *Secunda Secundae*, twenty-four against the *Questiones*

[1] *Siger de Brabant*, p. 231.

[2] Martin (London, 1884), *Register Epistolarum Fratris Joannis Peckham*, vol. iii, p. 866; *Annales Francisc.*, vol. iii, p. 361.

[3] *Annales*, p. 300.

[4] *Regist. Peckham*, vol. iii, p. 866; *Acta S.S.* March, vol. vii, p. 712.

Disputatae, nine against the *Quodlibita*, and nine against the *Commentary on the First Book of the Sentences*), impugning their orthodoxy. This book was officially sanctioned by the General Chapter of the Friars Minors held in 1282 at Strassburg.[1] The principle involved in this attack was the same as in the previous lists of Kilwardby and Tempier, an identification of teaching in S. Thomas and Averroes chiefly by means of a similarity of phrasing, so that the unity of forms, which was one philosophic tenet of the new scholasticism against the old, might be deliberately tangled with the unity of intelligence whereby Averroes and his defenders endeavoured to unite in a common mind and soul the whole intelligent creation. The philosophic point is subtle, and to those unaccustomed to scholasticism apparently futile, since it concerns the number of created forms which each unit can be said to comprise; but as it enters so largely into the names even of the polemical tracts of that date the fact of it at least must be remembered in this controversy.

The Franciscan challenge was at once taken up by the Oxford Dominicans. William of Macclesfield, one of the foremost friars of his Order, subsequently by Pope Benedict XI created Cardinal (though Nicholas Trivet, who knew him well, first as his pupil, then as his fellow professor, tells us that he died before he received the news of his promotion),[2] replied in 1282 with a volume which took each argument of de la Mare and refuted it at length. The immense popularity of this work in the later Middle Ages has preserved far more widely than the original the propositions of the attack. Robert of Orford and Thomas of Sutton (whose work has actually been attributed by some writers to S. Thomas himself) joined in the fray. The attempt of all three was frankly to justify the writings of Aquinas, and for that reason the controversy raged round the actual text of the *Summa* and his other treatises. Macclesfield especially declared in one passage: "It is to be noted that all that the Minors allege against Thomas can be answered by referring to his actual words, though for some of the objections it is necessary to have all his writings," a question, that is, not of isolated quotation but of the whole context, and of the critical comparison of separate passages. Another name to add to these is William of Southampton, the title of whose manuscript of this date (at Lincoln College, Oxford) presumably refers to this quarrel: *Against the jealous detractors of the Preaching Friars.*[3]

[1] *Siger de Brabant*, pp. 102, 104; *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques* (1913), pp. 46-70, 245-262. Why does A. G. Little make the dispute turn on the question as to whether matter was the principle of individuation, and still more why does he say, "the Church rallied to the side of the Franciscans"? (*Greyfriars*, p. 73).

[2] *Annales*, p. 400.

[3] *Siger de Brabant*, p. 102.

The controversy soon entered on a further stage. On the occasion of the consecration of the Bishop of Salisbury, evidently after the fatigues of the ceremony were over, Archbishop Peckham relaxed himself in conversation with the Dominican provincial, William of Hotham. This last (perhaps the most brilliant friar the English Province ever produced, who shared with S. Thomas alone in the history of that mediaeval university the honour of being for two successive terms professor at Paris) told the Archbishop that he had had a letter from Oxford that morning in which the friars complained that Peckham was acting harshly to them out of sheer jealousy of their Order. The Archbishop at once protested his love for them, which even surpassed the love of the provincial. To calm the Primate, William of Hotham admitted that he, too, had once thought S. Thomas's philosophy at fault, especially over the question of the plurality of forms. Peckham replied by denying any wish to sow enmity between the two orders; he had never asked the other Franciscans what they thought, but had acted purely on his own delicate conscience. What, however, he objected to, was the arrogant claim for intellectual supremacy put forward by the Dominicans. However, Peckham in this conversation appears to have said something which militated against himself, for he was certainly extremely annoyed by the provincial's retailing it later. He accused Hotham of "uncovering his father's shame," but the secret revelation of the Archbishop's private opinion, whatever it was, is now lost.

Next year (1285) the Archbishop was more angry still. In making his metropolitan visitation of the Lincoln diocese he had passed through Oxford, and there he learnt that certain philosophical opinions condemned by his predecessor, the Dominican, Kilwardby, had again become fashionable and were being taught in the schools. He had therefore called in the Bishop of Lincoln, and had preached publicly himself to the effect that no one was to defend any of these condemned propositions till the Bishop and Masters had seen it to be safe. The only matter that he directly tilted against was the unity of forms, and he admitted in his letter to the Cardinals in which this accusation was made, that this theory was the opinion of "Friar Thomas of Aquino, of holy memory," but he held himself to be justified in attacking it, for he had been told by witnesses that S. Thomas had submitted this as well as his every other teaching to the Paris University. The Oxford Dominicans were at fault, said Peckham, in attributing his opposition to a rivalry of Orders, for (as he cleverly retorted) he was only continuing humbly in the glorious footsteps of their own Kilwardby. This epistle[1] ends with a

[1] *Register Epist. Peckham*, vol. iii, p. 842.

masterly phrase, which is both essentially typical of the mediaeval mind and attractive to the modern spirit: "The Teaching of the Preaching Friars, which rejects and despises the writings of the Saints, is of imminent peril to the Church, for it links up faith with a particular human philosophy." The phrase would have been more convincing had their lordships not been aware that it was precisely the older school which was making orthodoxy depend on Platonism, and the newer school which was trying to make room also for Aristotle.

Six months later (1 June 1285) the Primate defended his attitude in this debate to Bishop Oliver Sutton of Lincoln. He singled out for especial condemnation the writing of Friar Richard Claypole, Master Regent of the Dominican school of Oxford. This pamphlet, which has been printed under the title of the *Correctarium Corruptorii*,[1] seems to be little more than a republication of Macclesfield's book with an appendix of great length, that was altogether original and dealt exclusively with the question of the plurality of forms. Claypole had evidently at one time, like Hotham himself, and, indeed, all the Dominican professors of that generation, been originally an upholder of the older system, but had been sincerely convinced by the subtle arguments of S. Thomas: "Behold before God, I lie not when I say that did I know of arguments disproving the unity of forms (as I once believed) I would have inserted them one by one." To Peckham the whole controversy appeared little else than an impertinence. It was an attempt of the young to dethrone the old, the vigorous imprudence of inexperience to make light of the teaching of tradition. The newer school has existed, he asserts, only "twenty years," and cannot therefore be taken seriously to rival the school of saints and doctors, especially the Franciscans, Alexander of Hales and S. Bonaventure. Whatever Augustine laid down is now repudiated, whether in science or in psychology, hence the tractate of Claypole is violently assailed by the Archbishop in language that is hardly archiepiscopal. Claypole himself is dismissed as a garrulous fellow who knew not even how to keep silent, and his book is described as "a damned page and a cursed folio." Further, "its beginning is headless, its middle wicked, its ending folly," since the author has the impertinence to argue with him, the Archbishop, as with an equal. Nay, by his attack, Claypole makes the Church a monster by putting its feet (the priests) above its head (the bishops). This horrible metaphor is evidently put in to work on the imagination of his correspondent, Bishop Oliver of Lincoln; but the good prelate did not appear to be much frightened.

But Peckham was far too vigorous and far too sincere in

[1] *Correctorium Corruptorii fratis Thomae*, Naples, 1644 (p. 186).

his opposition to Dominican philosophy to rest quiet with merely abusive letters. His energy was astounding in this as in everything he took up. In 1286[1] he summoned a council of suffragan bishops at the Parliament before the King went overseas, and singled out for condemnation twelve propositions from Claypole's book as contrary to the orthodox faith: of these, most dealt with the question of the unity of forms. So violently was the Primate persuaded of the evil effects of the newer theories, that he considered himself obliged to condemn a proposition as heterodox, thus moderately worded: "Neither opinion in itself or in its consequences seems to contain heresy or anything incongruous or opposed to faith"; another was actually taken almost entirely from the *Summa* of S. Thomas and is by now the traditional teaching of the theological schools. Others are plainly wrong, so plainly indeed, that it is clear some misunderstanding must have arisen for them to have appeared in Claypole's work. But Peckham was not allowed to have all his own way even with his council, for Hotham, who was still provincial and a firm favourite of the King and of the bishops, appeared, and after the condemnation had been pronounced solemnly in the centre of the Hall, declared the incompetence of the tribunal to sit in judgement on a preaching friar, refused therefore to consider the condemnation valid, and appealed to the sole doctrinal authority which he recognized, the Pope in Rome.[2]

It is curious that we possess a letter from the Archbishop of York (who was traditionally the opponent of Canterbury) written to Hotham in this very year, promising to assist the Dominicans to the best of his power, but not specifying in what cause. It is just possible that he saw here a favourable opportunity for inconveniencing his brother Primate of the south.[3]

By this time the Oxford quarrel appears to have aroused interest beyond the seas. The Primate, whose influence was considerable, had been badly worsted by the Dominican provincial, whose appeal to the Holy See actually ended the controversy, for by Rome's tolerance the point in philosophy was settled, and freedom for the Thomistic system secured. But, though Peckham had failed in his endeavours to suppress the "new-fangled theories of twenty years," his influence against the Dominicans might quite easily have caused them considerable annoyance. The presence of Hotham as provincial may well have been thought to prove too great an irritant and to make the employment of the Primate's influence against them more sure. Moreover, the provincial had served his purpose and achieved liberty for the English friars, and

[1] *Annales de Dunstaplia*, pp. 323-325. [2] *Chron. Wykes*, p. 306.
[3] Raine, *Historical Letters and Papers*, p. 86.

was no longer necessary. So to smooth matters over, the Master-General in 1287 sent him to teach in the Dominican priory at Paris. Hotham, however, did not go; in 1288 the command was repeated. But just here interposed a force which in the history of the English Province continuously appears in the same dramatic way to stay the hand of higher authority. The King at once employed him on business of the realm. Edward I had always been very friendly with the Dominicans. Over his fine, impetuous character, Nicholas Trivet, who, as a friar, had known him, lingers with reverence and delight. Edward's confessor was chosen always from the preaching friars. Hotham was one of his best-loved favourites. He was a favourite also with the Queen. In 1280 he had, in thankfulness for much munificence, received her into fellowship with the Order. She was to participate in all the merit of spiritual good works achieved by the Order over many lands. At her death the same suffrages of the whole Order would be offered for her as for a deceased Master-General, and as an earnest of this she would receive at once from every English Dominican priest the offering of one Mass and from every other English Dominican, cleric or lay brother, the suffrage corresponding to a Mass. At her death Eleanor named Hotham as one of her executors. As a sign then of affection Edward despatched Hotham as one of his ambassadors to Rome, and thus by this subterfuge (for friars could not go to Rome on their own affairs without leave from the Master-General, which would clearly in this case, on account of Hotham's absence from Paris, have been refused) gave him an opportunity to present his case and that of his Oxford brethren to the Pope. Nicholas IV sent him back to Edward on matters connected with taxation for the Crusade; and in 1296 Boniface VIII made him Archbishop of Dublin.[1]

Poor Claypole, the other protagonist, fared not so well. His life was made utterly miserable, so that bearing no longer the tumult of Oxford and the opposition still to be encountered there he fled over sea to Rome. Pope Nicholas, a Franciscan, who had already in the matter of the government of the Tertiaries quite naturally shown a strong love for his own Order and jealousy of the Dominicans, was not likely to be sympathetic to so fierce and headstrong and violent an opponent of his own school of philosophy, and immediately imposed silence on him. But this Claypole could not observe. Peckham had already described him as garrulous and unable to be quiet. It was perhaps temperament, perhaps the result of his training. Anyway at Bologna he broke out into lecturing, became demented, and in much melancholy at his unhappy

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, 1878, pp. 8-11. P.R.O., *Liber B. Thes. Cur. Recept. Scac.*, fol. 17^{b}.

lot, died of starvation—evidently a self-imposed death. "He ended his life with much suffering," say the Annals of Dunstable. This was in 1288, just ten years after the fray had begun.[1]

Despite this sad close to Claypole's career, the Dominicans triumphed. Aristotle conquered at Oxford as he had conquered at Paris, conquered so overwhelmingly that he came in the end to occupy the same place of conventional orthodox philosophy from which he had with such quarrelling and distress ousted his master, Plato. Bishops and archbishops clinging to old forms and narrow views might condemn; Roger Bacon, whose energy was spent, says Albert the Great, in criticism,[2] and who on his own admission did little enough constructive work himself, might point his bitter words; the universities with their venerable and oppressive weight of learning might solidly forbid; but these things could not limit the quickening influence of the new scientific movement. "Condemnations can't swim the channel," said one English Dominican to William of Ockham not many years after;[3] "The Popes are the only judges of doctrine,"[4] said another. So while Claypole goes down to his end, blind, mad, melancholy, the two other protagonists of the cause are advanced to high places in the Church—Macclesfield becomes a cardinal and Hotham (whom a chronicler describes as "amusing, popular, pious, and a favourite of the King") reaches to the primatial See of the City of Dublin.

St. Thomas had ended his treatise on the unity of the intellect with a famous outburst of intense vigour: "If any one, taking glory in the false name of science, wishes to say anything against our writings, let him not skulk in corners or talk to boys who have no knowledge of the causes of things; but let him write against our writings, if he dare, and he shall find not only me, who am the least of the band, but many other followers of Truth by whom his error shall be resisted and his ignorance set right."[5] This challenge to Averroist and to Platonist had been followed by fierce and open attack. Paris and Oxford had been the two chief battle-grounds. Thenceforward in the West, till the neo-Platonists of the Renaissance, the opposition was hushed into silence. The art schools of Paris and the friars there and in Oxford, against influence and tradition and inertia, alone and unaided had won.

Yet on the conclusion of this dispute, another which intimately concerned the Oxford Dominicans immediately ensued. It was not scholastic like the last, but academic,

[1] *Annales*, p. 341.
[2] *In Polit.*, last passage.
[3] *Dialogus* (Lyons, 1495), dist. 1, bk. ii, cap. xxiv, fol. 14.
[4] Trivet, *Annales*, p. 364.
[5] *De Unitate Intellectus*, ad finem.

relating purely to the giving of degrees.[1] The friars themselves considered it to be the result of their earlier quarrel which had ruffled the feelings of the University and had inspired its officials with jealousy; the University authorities strenuously denied any such base motive for their action, asserting simply that they were compelled to it by the oaths which they had sworn, to uphold the privileges of their Alma Mater. Still it is evident that the theological controversy had certainly helped to disturb and excite the atmosphere.

All during the thirteenth century the friars had unquestionably been responsible for the improvement in the studies and general tone of the universities of Europe. They had sent there their best students and professors, had suggested by their own conventual buildings the establishment of the Oxford colleges, and had proved themselves the allies and even the patrons of the professors and students. But as the universities advanced in strength they outgrew their need for the fostering care of the friars, and apparently the friars endeavoured to retain by custom what they had won by merit. The position they had held was gradually, under the enlightened competition of Walter de Merton and his peers, being levelled up to by the rest of the University, and they who had first been attacked for their modern and freshly conceived methods of teaching were now desperately engaged in defending themselves on the principle that their position was guaranteed them by tradition.

The first record of the quarrel occurs in a letter of King Edward II to the Chancellor and Masters of the University of Oxford, asking them to allow the Dominicans there studying their wonted rights and customs within their own boundaries. There is no definite reference in the document to prove what these rights and customs were, nor any allusion to the way in which they had been encroached upon. But already we learn this matter must have been in debate and of much importance, for the Masters had come up from Oxford to London, and had been in consultation over it. This the King, who all the way through appeared as the strenuous defender of the friars, declared to be wholly unnecessary and mischievous. The letter is dated 9 December 1311. The Dominicans, in their petition to Rome, more fully explained their difficulties: they allege that they were caught between two authorities. On the one hand the Order would not let them study arts till they had graduated in theology, on the other the University by refusing to allow any but graduates in theology to lecture on the Bible, and by making arts a preliminary to theology, prevented any Dominican from taking

[1] For these documents consult Little, *Greyfriars of Oxford*, p. 39, etc.; Rashdall, *The Friars Preachers and the University* (Historical Society of Oxford, Collectanea, vol. ii, pp. 217-273).

his degree (except by a special dispensation which had to be secured by a unanimous vote of the Regent-Masters of all the faculties). By this arrangement, therefore, the friars were at the mercy of any single master-of-arts who chose to vote *non-placet*. Again, they were forbidden by the Oxford statutes to lecture in Scripture until they had first lectured on the Sentences (the official text-book of theology). This appeared an absurd arrangement to the friars who, throughout the Middle Ages, were perpetually insisting on the value of Scripture as a study by itself, not simply to be supposed to be a mere department of theology. A less noble cause of complaint was that whereas "of old" the defensions had always (note the appeal to tradition) taken place at the Dominican church, they were now held at S. Mary's, the University church. Finally they protested that statutes were carried and considered binding once they had obtained the votes of a majority of masters in any two faculties, and, in consequence, that in spite of the unanimous opposition of the theological faculty or of the legal faculty, whether civil or canonical (in which two alone they could pretend to any real influence or voting strength), laws might be made which were certainly invalid.

All these subjects of complaint, together with definite acts of hostility to certain Friar-Bachelors and Doctors, were drawn up in form and published in the Franciscan church at Oxford during sermon time. A copy of them was served on the Proctors of the University. But Canon Law required over and above this a notarial certificate that the appeal from the University to a higher tribunal had been served on the Oxford Chancellor himself, Henry de Manefield. For this purpose, on 26 February 1312, Friar Lawrence of Warwick, a lively and venturous Dominican, endeavoured to break in on the Chancellor during his public lecture, but he found his way barred by servants and others "thereunto deputed." Repulsed, he patiently waited at the door till the good doctor had finished his discourse. As Henry de Manefield emerged, Friar Lawrence rushed at him and thrust the notice of appeal into the ample folds of the Master's gown. But the Chancellor, swearing heartily (*cum verbis infractivis*, which may be translated in a phrase of Richard Rolle as "unbuxomnesse of worde"), threw the paper on the ground.

A month later the King again wrote to the Masters and Chancellor of the University, not alluding to the quarrel directly, but merely asking as a personal petition that they should allow Roger of Baketon, a Dominican from York who had already been accepted by the University, to proceed to his degree according to the privileges given "in old time" to the preaching friars. The next day a new idea struck the King, and he wrote to suggest a truce between the University

and the Dominicans until Parliament should meet, and that in the meantime it would be as well that these last should continue to use such customs and rights as they had anciently possessed. But this could not have been meant as in any sense an attempt to compromise with the University, for Edward II continued in his own absolutist spirit to insist that every privilege at Oxford enjoyed by Masters and students and Chancellor, depended entirely on the royal charter granted by his predecessors and confirmed by himself. If, then, argued the King, the freedom of the University depended entirely on him, by what right was that freedom denied to and prejudiced against the Dominicans? But to secure powerful support for his beloved friars, the King wrote also to Pope Clement V in much the same spirit.

On the other hand the University was not silent. Through the Archbishop of Canterbury, its ecclesiastical superior, it consulted with Paris over the matter and demanded from that venerable assembly a copy of its privileges for there, too, only earlier, the Dominicans had come into collision with the University. To the King they sent an answer in general terms, asking that he would deign most graciously to hear their side of the matter. They pleaded their great poverty and the ruinous expense that would befall them if the discussion were to be argued in Rome. To every complaint of the friars they were perfectly willing to make answer. They entirely denied the supposed antiquity of the statute which fixed the Dominican church as the official scene for all disputations, for hardly to any considerable extent had that custom been in man's memory, and even during that time the discussions were often held in other schools. Moreover, it was because the University had outgrown the size of its halls that S. Mary's was now taken over as the only place for such academic meetings. As for the Biblical professors having first of all to pass their theological degrees, that was a necessity forced on the University by the errors taught in Scripture by many unqualified lecturers who were ignorant of theology. They had no guarantee that orthodox views on the Bible would be expressed, unless the theological course preceded the scriptural. Moreover, the whole of these statutes were already ancient history, and the friars ought to have protested against their enactment long ago. The time had slipped by and it was now too late to appeal.

The answer of the friars, rebutting all the arguments, went chiefly into the increasing vexations caused them by the other schools. Threats of personal violence had driven away their scholars, their public defensions were boycotted, their conciliatory offers through King, Queen, and nobles had been vain, they had been excommunicated by the Archbishop at the prompting of the Chancellor. To this they added that

there was an obvious advantage in having the Dominican priory as the scene of academic disputations, since the peace and quiet of their river-island contrasted favourably with the rush and rattle of the High Street.

This list of *gravamina*, drawn up with elaborate order, had by Canon Law to be served on the whole body of the Masters, and this distasteful and even dangerous task was deputed by the friars to their Proctor, Lawrence of Warwick, who had so successfully cornered the Chancellor himself earlier in the year. On 30 November, therefore, in 1312, while convocation was being held in the church of S. Mary's, Friar Lawrence advanced into the assembly and began as swiftly as he could to read through this list of grievances. Swift as he was, the Masters were swifter. Despite his "loud, disturbing protests," he was hustled out of the sacred building and the great door was heavily barred against his entrance. This last precaution was their undoing. Yet had Canon Law to be obeyed, so creeping round to the south side and climbing first upon a tombstone and then on to the shoulders of another Dominican, the undaunted Lawrence bawled his *gravamina* in stately Latin, but at an express rate through the window. Speedily he dismounted from his human pulpit, nailed the document to the porch, and fled before the volley of bad language and violence which drove him to the cloistered peace of his convent home. The locked door of S. Mary's had saved him. The Masters could not get out in time to frustrate him.

To Rome then the case was carried by both sides. Even the King was once more brought into the dispute, for on 1 February in 1313 he wrote to the Pope protesting that the Proctor of the University had misreported him. He declared that he had never annulled the privileges of the Masters and Chancellor, which was evidently a papal prerogative; his real phrase has already been quoted, wherein he merely queried by what right they, whose freedom had been granted by royal charter, denied that freedom to the friars, who were equally with them the recipients of the bounty of the crown. From this date till November negotiations were continued by the two contending parties, and attempts were made to settle by amicable arrangement this dreary quarrel. At last, on the 5th of that month, a composition for arbitration was drawn up. The Proctors for the Friars Preachers were Luke of Woodford, who was a very distinguished man, later to be royal confessor to Edward III, and Ralph of Seton; the Proctors of the University were Edward Melpham and Anthony Bek, who was to figure later prominently in English political history. These four appointed four others, who were themselves to decide the whole matter, viz., the Bishop of Llandaff (or if he could not attend, Master Robert of Clotnall,

Canon of S. Paul's), Canon Gilbert Middleton (or Master Adam of Orleton), and two Dominicans, Thomas Everard (or John of Wrotham), and Peter of Kennington (or Luke of Woodford). The points to be settled were also definitely stated and limited, and comprised the eight causes of the dispute, viz.:

(i) The place for the sermons and examinations of bachelors of theology, both secular and regular.
(ii) The fact that the *Vesperae* or disputations in S. Mary's could be suspended on veto of the professors.
(iii) That no one could take a degree in Scripture till first graduated in theology, nor in theology till first graduated in arts, except by special dispensation which had actually been refused to a certain friar.
(iv) The ruling whereby whatever the regent-masters in both faculties and the major part of non-regents agree to, became law.
(v) The fact that none could be received as masters or bachelors in any faculty until they had sworn to observe all these rules and statutes.
(vi) That every master and bachelor before receiving his degree had to reply to the objectors appointed by the University.
(vii) The expulsion of Friar Hugh of Sutton from the congregation of masters, when the Bedells never (as they should have done) rendered him any support or aid.
(viii) The non-admission of Friar Roger of Baketon to the mastership and of Friar Richard of Huntly and of other friars to read the Sentences.

In token of their earnestness and as a fine against non-appearance both sides deposited money with the Augustinian prior and convent of S. Frideswide.

The four arbitrators chosen all met in person, the Bishop, the Canon, and the two Friars, and gradually in London drew up a document which was intended to give satisfaction all round. It consisted of seven chief headings:

(i) In future the Dominicans could hold their disputations in their own priory, but the rest should go to S. Mary's.
(ii) The sermons and examinations of bachelors used to be held in the Dominican and Franciscan churches, but for the last twelve years had been transferred to S. Mary's. This was to stand, but in future each bachelor, before lecturing in the Sentences, was in the Dominican church to preach one sermon before the masters of the faculty of theology on a Sunday assigned by the University.
(iii) The statute whereby no one was to profess Scripture until after first taking a degree as bachelor in theology was to remain.

TOMB OF EDWARD II IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

Photograph by Sydney A. Pitcher

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(iv) Also the statute was to continue whereby none could lecture on theology till after first graduating in arts except by a unanimous vote of the masters of the theological faculty.

(v) Yet no master was to veto such a dispensation out of malice, and his reason for objecting might be challenged within ten days and discussed by the whole university.

(vi) No new statutes were to be passed without first being put in writing and read to all the masters, and ten copies were to be distributed to each faculty for discussion. Then after an interval of fifteen days the suggested statute must have been confirmed by a majority of any three faculties of which arts must be one.

(vii) The Dominicans were to retain their own free schools in their priory, which were to be counted part of the University, so that for lectures, disputations, and discussions, these satisfied as legitimate Oxford academic functions.

The year following, Edward II solemnly confirmed both the composition and the resulting arbitration. But even this does not seem wholly to have healed over the dispute. Letters still went backwards and forwards between Rome and Canterbury and Oxford and Westminster, which revealed a good deal of bickering between all the parties concerned, yet with this difference that the Primate, who previously had excommunicated the friars, appears later to have begun to favour their side, and to have defended them in the Papal Courts.

The University itself was evidently conscious of this change of front, and endeavoured to win back the Archbishop by letters which are Oriental in their deference and redundant of piled-up epithets. He is their "Father of Fathers," their "Mountain of Mountains," the condescension of his "Immensity" is both "astonishing and delicious." Simultaneously with all this, they were busy imprisoning the friars whom they found obstreperous and objectionable, so that royal writs had to be issued declaring the friars exempt from the criminal jurisdiction of the courts and subject only to their own discipline and authority. Their own prisons and not "Bocardo" were the places in which recalcitrant Dominicans could lawfully be housed. By 1320 peace had definitely come. Both masters and friars had accepted the award and dealt fairly by it. It was really as just a settlement as could have been devised, though the personal cases which were entered into and specified in the official list of *gravamina* are not referred to, and were perhaps settled without reference to the board of arbitrators.

During the whole reign of Edward III both sides worked

together and little or no friction is to be observed in the official records. At least no complaints are to be found by either side.

Under Richard II (like Edward II in so many ways) the quarrel was re-opened. Both these young monarchs, whose reigns were singularly unfortunate, were devoted patrons of the Order of S. Dominic. Edward II expressly declares his personal love for the saint, and Richard II was bound by closer ties than that to the Order. Under both, therefore, the Dominicans seemed more likely to secure proper treatment; so that it may well have been that the nuisance complained of earlier by the friars really continued throughout the whole reign of Edward III, but realizing their little prospect of success against the strong influence of the University at the court of one so "neutral" as that king, they may well have preferred to put off till his successor's reign any complaints they desired to make. Certainly it is curious that from 1320 to 1378 no documents at present show traces of any trouble; nor before 1310 nor after 1388 are there any real references to this dispute. The quarrel, therefore, is absolutely contained by the reigns of Edward II and Richard II.

The record of the friars at Oxford was yet, on the whole, peaceable. The two disputes which threatened to produce estrangement between the friars and the University were of vital importance to both, and certainly had beneficial results by reaction upon the Order. At no other time had it so strong a force of writers and professors as during those years of struggle. Put on its mettle by the very strength of its opponents, the Order was compelled to use to the best possible advantage its organization of study. When these disputes were ended, and the Wycliffite controversy had died down, the Dominicans in Oxford and all the country over began visibly to fail. When the Observance of the Province is studied, the same law holds good. The Order of Friars Preachers seems to require some external environment of contradiction to bring it to its full force. It began in a country in which the lapsed far outnumbered in intelligence the faithful band of eager Catholics, and with its keen appreciation of the value of mental gifts it was alive to the necessity of preaching truth, expounding with decision the articles of the Faith. But when the external stimulus of debate had been withdrawn, its danger was a placid acquiescence in contentment, and its energies have been too often, in such circumstances, expended upon needless, frivolous, and futile disputations. As one of its most brilliant members noted among his contemporary friars at the Reformation, they were wholly unable to tilt with effect against the champions of the new religion. They had fenced, in his words, so often with mere reeds, which were always fragile and sometimes fanciful, that they had

lost touch with real warfare and real argument. For so long they had defended positions, the holding or loss of which was completely immaterial to them, that the sense of reality had become wholly atrophied. Bishop Melchior Canus, O.P.,[1] has given a terrible indictment of the intellectual puerilities of scholasticism as he knew it in the sixteenth century, and is completely supported by such evidence as we have of the state of Dominican studies at Oxford during the later three-quarters of the fifteenth century. Even in comparison with other Orders their numbers considerably declined. In a list of graduates at Oxford about 1450, after the Benedictines (who had two colleges in Oxford, one a centre for their northern abbeys called Durham Hall, now Trinity College, the other for their southern abbeys, called Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College) they came first, outnumbering in their graduates the Cistercians, Carmelites, Franciscans, and Augustinians; by 1535 the Cistercians and Franciscans had outpaced them while the Black Monks kept their first place by a substantial and overwhelming majority.

Then broke over the country the huge destruction which, with deep lack of humour, men call the Reformation. Its track, once supposed to be noticeable by its fruitful crop of grammar schools, is now discovered to have left an educational waste. Even the men of the new religion lamented the increasing ignorance which their efforts at reform actually produced. The dwindling school of the Dominicans was wholly and entirely suppressed. Desertion, fear, flight, reduced the community to fifteen. Cromwell's trusty lieutenant, Dr. John London, thus describes the priory:[2] "The Black Fryers hathe in their baksyde lykewise dyvers Ilonds well wodded and conteynyth in lengith a great ground. There quer wasse lately new byldede and couerd with ledde. It is lykewise a bigge Howse, and all couered with slatt saving the queere. They have prety stor of plat and juellys and specially there ys a gudd chalis of golde sett with stonys and ys better than a C. marks: and ther ys also a gudd crosse with other things conteynyd in the bill. Ther ornaments be olde and of small valor. They have a fayer Cundytt and ronnythe fresshelye. Ther be butt x Fryers, being prests, besid the Anker which is a well disposyd man and have L. marks yerly of the Kings cofers." These spoils, poor as they sound—chalices, crosses, paxes, censers, and even a "litill pyxe on the awlt' wherin the sacrament ys conteynde"—were sent up to London and added to the rest of the plunder that enriched the Crown and nobility at the expense of the friars. The few that remained agreed

[1] *De Locis Theologicis.* The whole of Book VII should be read as an intelligent summary of the scholastic period, made by one who had plenty of opportunity for judging its strength and weakness.

[2] *Reliquary*, 1883, April, p. 215.

readily to throw off their habits and become merged in the secular clergy: no doubt the visitators saw to it that excellent and convincing arguments were adduced for this change of life. Among others was the hopeless despoiling of the building itself: "Then I defacyd the Churche windoes," says London of his visit to the Dominican priory at Warwick, "and the sellys of the dorter, as I dydd in every place, saving in Bedford and Aylisbury, wher were few byers. I pullyd down no House thoroughly at noon of the Fryers; but so defaced them as they shuld nott lyghtly be made Fryerys agen." Is it to be wondered at that, cast out upon the world to which they were unaccustomed, and finding their retreat cut off by the deliberate destruction of their priory, the last remnants of Oxford Dominican greatness were glad to secure the peace of some country living? The names of that last band are as follows:

Frat' Will'm' Wat'man bac. theologie
Frat' Thomas Borell
Frat' Petrus Fletcher
Fr. Richard Prikilbank
Fr. Hugo Cordewey
Fr. Jacobus Noreys
Fr. Guydo Wolsch
Fr. Will'm' Glanson
Fr. Henric' Mathew
Fr. Edwardus Bampton
Fr. Will'm's Dingle—anachoreta
Fr. Davy Tonys, Fr. Henric' Benet } no' infra sacros
Fr. Joh'es low sub-diacon'.

Under Queen Mary something was done to re-establish the Dominican schools. Two Spanish friars, Soto and Villagarcia, were brought there to lecture. though there seems to be no record of any attempt to start a Dominican priory. But the speedy death of the Queen quenched all such efforts to restore any of the old Orders. Elizabeth's possession of power ended all such hopes. The Blackfriars was pulled down, and the stones lay disordered over the river island where they had dwelt. Forty years and the very name had been forgotten, for in Agas's famous map of Oxford in 1578 the site is marked "Graie Friers." Part of these ruins were used by Sir Thomas Pope in building the garden walls of his restored college of Trinity, but of tracery and mullion and carving no evidence remains. The civil war between Charles and Parliament meant further destruction, for sieges even in those days entailed trench digging, and the remains of the building were dragged further off to form a defence. Just one small portion of the priory, popularly known as the Prior's House (but more prob-

ably a fragment of the Guest House if it is really earlier than Elizabeth's reign), remains above ground. Over the whole was later a market garden, from which time no doubt date the wild Madonna lilies that now, as prolific as weeds, cover with beauty and fragrance and clustering mass the site of the friars' home. Cottages and streets have now been erected over it, and the island is an island no longer, though local stories abound of the rush of water heard from beneath the floors of houses when rains break over the city. Even more circumstantial are the skeletons found, the burial chalices, gold rings, and other signs of the earlier dwellers that from time to time are met with. These dead things are all that remain of that band of friars who, by their learning, helped more than any others to make Oxford in the thirteenth century the rival of Paris.

It is true that the friars themselves had not kept up to their own high standard, had declined in learning and influence. That is, indeed, the deeper pathos of their story. It is not the ancient bigotry of ignorant fanaticism, destructive and swaggering in the garb of religion, which moves to any depth of feeling the watchers of those places; but it is the memory of the slow failing of greatness, meriting, perhaps, the eclipse it suffered, that touches the near feeling of sadness. For the enemies of a man are those of his own household, and the enemies of his name too often his heirs, descendants, successors. Yet, for all their ultimate decay, it is rather to the earlier impressions of the energy, brilliance, and hardihood of the fresh and vigorous speculation of the Dominican friars of Oxford that we turn:

Their greatness, not their littleness, concerns mankind.

CHAPTER V

THE PREACHERS

THE title of Friars Preachers given by Pope Honorius III to the followers of S. Dominic meant a daring innovation to his contemporaries. Of course preaching had quite clearly been continuous in Christendom, since it was required incessantly for the missionary enterprise both in extending and in deepening the Kingdom of Christ. To the bishops, first of all, as leaders of the host the duty of expounding the teaching of Our Lord was a solemn duty solemnly committed. But it was by no means confined to them, for even the deacons had as part of their office the privilege of commenting on that daily portion of the sacred Gospel that formed part of the liturgical service. Moreover, there had begun some two or three centuries earlier than S. Dominic's day, that strong movement of lay-preachers who found themselves forced to take up work which the clergy had neglected, and who yet, because of their very lack of clerical training, and in spite of every best intention in the world, soon became unmeasured and obstinate in their doctrinal assertions. But the serene wisdom of Innocent III, the most original and daring of the mediaeval Pontiffs, had discovered a way out of the frustrated crusade against them by establishing among these heretical and earnest apostles, a certain section of them which was to have full licence to preach, so long as its members confined their eloquence to merely moral exhortations and denunciations, and left to the better qualified clergy the task of expounding for popular comprehension the dogmas of the Faith. This band, thus rescued from its errant ways, became known as the *Tertius Ordo*, and had its energies restricted to the work of "Preaching penance."[1] After this fashion S. Francis built up his ideal of the Brothers of the Brown Robe; but for S. Dominic precisely the other half of the need of preaching, which was denied to these, became the chance of life to him. The exposition of the Creed was, by the declared compact arranged between Innocent III and the *Tertius Ordo*, reserved to the clergy; yet though the laity were forbidden to usurp, the clergy still neglected, or at least were not in a position to fulfil, the real obligations this entailed. Evidence enough of the results of this were easily discoverable in the rampant and widening heresies in France, Spain, and Italy. The work, therefore, required doing by properly qualified clergy, trained

[1] The origin of the *Tertius Ordo* here assumed has been ably expounded and defended by Père Mandonnet, O.P., *Les origines de l'ordo de Penitentia* (Fribourg, 1898), *Les regles et le gouvernement de l'ordo de Penitentia au XIII Siècle* (Paris, 1902), and by Père Mortier, *Maîtres Generaux*, vol. ii, pp. 220-250.

deeply in the science of theology, and free to devote their whole attention to this absorbing and laborious apostolate. The parochial clergy, not through their fault, but by the necessary limitations of their stable office, had failed in this. Hence a new force was desired—learned, mobile, organized—from some central observation post, and sensitive to any immediate and sudden demand for help. Of this need S. Dominic had first-hand observation, when his journey north from Spain to Scandinavia was interrupted in the territory of the Albigeois. Hence, therefore, began the ideal of the Friars Preachers.

This primitive notion, which made preaching for the new Order a work of clear exposition of the Faith, was still further confirmed by the teaching office which we have seen to have been thrust upon the friars, in spite of themselves. They went to the universities to listen; they stayed there to lecture. This helped, therefore, to stiffen their tendency towards the intellectual side of the Church's occupations, and made their sermons for this further reason an appeal to the intelligence of the faithful. Everywhere the new style was welcomed, and this instant success overcame every possible hesitancy of the friars, and convinced them of the wisdom of their choice.

In England this was as clear as everywhere else. It is certain that there was far less opposition to the doctrinal teaching of the Church here in these islands than anywhere else in the West, so that the controversial side of preaching was never developed by the English Dominicans. If any consciousness of such gifts stirred any friar's heart, there lay open the vast expanse of the foreign missions, to which were gathered not a few of the English Province.

Only during the fifty years of Wycliffite disturbance are the English Dominicans to be found condemning errors by writing controversy or preaching it. For the most part their literary remains, in so far as the pulpit is concerned, are of that simple nature that is to be expected from any English friar. Dominican treatises are extant which lay down the traditional methods of the Order, and from this it is clear that no set discourse, after the continental fashion with prologue and points and epilogue, ever obtained here among the preaching friars. Rather, as became their historic origin, the sermons were merely instructions, helped out by legend, anecdote, and political reference. It was felt, however, that this might easily grow wearisome to the listener, hence over and over again it was declared that the preacher was not to stand woodenly like a statue. He was directed to put animation into his discourse, all the more necessary since on the whole his words being chiefly didactic were less likely to prove arresting or absorbing. To catch the attention of his audience

when the matter was of necessity largely intellectual required every possible artifice within the limits of common sense. Hesitation in speech was mentioned by one Dominican preacher in his book on the Art of Preaching[1] as a considerable obstacle to any effective discourse, so that the mediaeval style of study, where so much was oral and so little written, where controversy and disputation entered far more largely than they do with us into the curriculum of university education, was an invaluable training for the Dominican vocation. A monotonous delivery was another pitfall to be avoided: "like a boy who repeats lessons he does not quite understand." Facial expression and gesture were also to be carefully cultivated since these too helped to drive home important lessons, and to make alive and human some abstract truth. But of course these are all the trite maxims of every elocution master; then as now the ideal was to steer away from dull and listless discourses, in which, as one mediaevalist wrote, the preacher evidently hoped to copy the action of the Creator by first casting man into a deep sleep before providing him with a helpmate. Yet on the other hand there was a corresponding danger in the other extreme, the danger of rant and over-emphasis, for it was possible for the friars, wandering over the whole country-side and swaying with their eloquence the rabble in the market squares, to adopt a style totally out of keeping with the solemnity and greatness of their office, and savouring rather of the trade of the mountebank. Once made conscious of his power to stir passion and rouse to violence and social aggression (Wycliffe, indeed, as we have said, declared that the friars were frequently mere revolutionaries), it was tempting to the preacher to degrade himself into a merely theatrical declaimer, "clerical actors, rather than Christian preachers."

To avoid these two extremes, Thomas Wallace, an English Dominican of the fourteenth century, insisted that it was necessary to prepare very carefully beforehand, to think out gesture and expression, to practise delivery, and to persuade some candid and reliable friend to listen and criticise. By this means he thought that both slipshodness and over-culture might be avoided. John Bromyard, O.P., another of the great English preachers, laid especial stress upon the intense need for originality. Earlier indeed than he, Humbert de Romans called the attention of preacher and professor to the importance of making their theories entirely their own before venturing to explain them to others: "Nothing can be taught to another until it has first been made one's own."[2] There were always people who, frightened at the labour and

[1] Card. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible, and other Essays* (London, 1908), pp. 179-187.

[2] Humbertus, *Opera*, vol. i, p. 459.

energy required in their vocation, endeavoured to save themselves drudgery by merely using older sermons and lectures, either their own or another's. This practice both Bromyard and de Romans consider to be worse than useless. Bromyard, in a happy passage of sustained eloquence, compares the true student of sacred oratory to the bee which wanders indeed from flower to flower, and takes from each all that it has to give; but while in this way it is never afraid of extracting good from everything, it is careful also to make of all these differences but one honey, to give a distinctive yet single taste to the produce of its labour. The embroiderer works and threads and gathers; yet the result is no patchwork of colour and taste, but a single whole, continuous and one.

The matter of the Dominican sermon was supposed, as we have said, generally to refer to the Creed, and to be an explanation or instruction on one or other of the mysteries of faith. The Gospel appointed to the Sunday or feast day naturally lent itself to this kind of treatment, and was capable, as Wallace noted, of an infinitely rich development. Yet while thus putting some truth of religion clearly before the people, the preacher was asked to take especial care that he did not simply evolve an argument without simultaneously moving piety. The first appeal indeed was to the intelligence, but the purpose of this was intended at the last to stir the heart. The people had to be taught truth, but only that they might subsequently love beauty. Hence Wallace insists on references to the Passion of Our Lord, to devotion towards the Mother of God, and to the final blessedness of Heaven as practical conclusions to any exposition of the Creed.

But there are other proofs besides this mere expression of a theory to show that the sermon of the average English Dominican was a very homely as well as a very learned discourse. John Bromyard himself composed a *Summa Predicantium*,[1] which gives alphabetically an immense amount of information on every subject. For example, "*Dominatio*, or lordship," provides him with an opportunity for giving an exhaustive treatise on theories of government, constitutional ideals, the Christian theory of obedience to authority, and countless other kindred points. *War* occupies twenty-four columns of the small quarto edition of 1522. In it are laid down the principles to be observed by Christian governments in declaring war and in waging it, the theories of those who object to all war on principle, and a rejection of these on the strict grounds of Christian revelation. Every point made is driven home by a telling anecdote. Charlemagne is quoted, and Edward I, a simile which graphically describes the dogs used in hunting is inserted, recent gossip about the behaviour

[1] The *Summa Predicantium* has been frequently reprinted.

of a nameless abbot serves also to point the moral and adorn the tale. Incidentally it is interesting to notice that Bromyard ascribes the failure of the Third Crusade to the vanity of Richard I and the failure of the earlier and later attempts at crusading to the incorrigible habit the clergy displayed of insisting on personally directing the military campaigns. Indeed, the *Summa Predicantium* of Bromyard is a veritable fund of information on all mediaeval teaching, as well as containing items of history and legendary anecdotes, invaluable for any writer on that period.

Preaching of this sort therefore required two sources of inspiration, theological treatises and collections of anecdotes. For the first the English friars had done a great deal, and their writings placed them on a level with the French Province at the head of the intellectual movement of the Order; the second also attracted their attention. The volume of anecdotes composed in 1260 by Etienne de Bourbon, a French Dominican, is the recognized example of all others; but in the British Museum is a smaller collection, even more valuable (*Royal* 7, *D*, ff. 61-139*b*), compiled in England in the second half of the thirteenth century by a Dominican friar of Cambridge. The author claims to have heard Jaques de Vitry (a famous preacher who died in 1240); tells anecdotes about S. Edmund of Canterbury, which he professes to have heard from the intimate friends of the saint; quotes incidentally the dates 1250 and 1243 as though of recent memory. The latter year is cited in the description of a ghost story connected with the diocese of Bath, and the name of the ghost, a monk, is only omitted out of deference to the wishes of a mutual friend obviously still living. Two of the anecdotes which he relates he declares to have heard quoted by Cardinal William of Savoy when preaching in the cemetery of the Dominicans at Cambridge. This again helps us to determine the date of the production, for Matthew Paris records a visit of the Cardinal in 1247, and explains that he passed through England on his way to crown King Hakon of Norway. From Dover the Legate went to King's Lynn, where he remained three months, and either while there, or on his journey, may well have called at Cambridge. Cambridge itself is also referred to in other stories, as well as March and Bury St. Edmunds; though of course even Oxford, Leicester, and Lincoln, and other more remote places are mentioned.

The stories themselves are in many cases to be found in other collections, some older, some evidently directly copied from this manuscript. A quaint story is told of a Welsh lady who, when exhorted by a Dominican to pray for her son's murderer, expressed her feelings in the matter with extreme clearness, alleging the impossibility for her doing so: "I might just as well have murdered him myself"—typical,

surely, of the fierce nature of those hill-hidden and warring people. A curious account of *incubi* being expelled from Scotland by Dominicans is told with great gravity. Hot onions are recommended as eye-poultices. A dying miser, who had lost the power of speech, while he was receiving Extreme Unction, immediately recovered it; but this is hardly an edifying tale, since he had caught sight of some one handling his treasures, and his words simply were: "Who 's touching my purse?" Another anecdote of a dying miser would be difficult to work into a sermon, but it shows at least that a sense of humour possessed the unknown compiler of this manuscript. On his death-bed, deprived of the power of speech, the miser at last consented to make his will. The priest was in attendance, while two friends undertook, by means of questioning, to discover the dying man's desires. It was agreed that the property should be divided; the difficulty was to find out who were to be the fortunate heirs. A device was suggested. The friends were to call out the names of likely inheritors, and the miser was to interject "Ha" when one was called out whom he wished to be on the list. Amongst others the priest's name was called out, the miser was silent, so, as no one was looking, the priest, who stood by the bedside, pinched the dying man's ear, and caused such intense pain that the miser screamed with agony. To the friends at the other end of the room this sounded like "Ha," and thus, against his will, and moved by some higher power, the Church inherited. A lively story, and its application from the pulpit must have served its purpose, if only by attracting watchful interest among the audience as to what could possibly be the moral to be learnt from this pious story.

Another way in which the flagging energy of the faithful was stimulated was by the introduction of moralized natural history. Beasts, birds, flowers, were made to point lessons for human kind. Wallace has a treatise on the Nature of Animals with morals appended, a fascinating study, the success of which proved so immediate that he composed another on the Tales of Ovid, where brief and pointed conclusions were deduced from the mythology of Greece and Rome. This last book was even translated into French verse, and printed at Bruges in 1484. Holcot took history as his province, and moralized that for the benefit of his faithful hearers, and was certainly fitted by his enormous learning for this huge task. His reading was famous for its wide range, but his popular title as "the firm and unwearied doctor"—not a very pleasing surname for a great preacher—hints rather terribly at his professorial temper of mind, and its emergence in the pulpit.

Nicholas Gorham[1] was another whose sermon-plans and

[1] Gasquet, p. 187.

material were much used by his contemporaries and followers. No other author is so much quoted as he in fifteenth-century English sermons. He had been Fellow of Merton, and died Confessor to Philip le Bel.

Bishop Ringstead[1] was another orator whose fame has come down to our time. His diocesan labours in Bangor can hardly have occasioned him much pleasure, since his will, devising bequests of money for poor churches and poor undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge, distinctly excepts from all benefit under his testament every Welshman. But in preparation for his own life-work his theological course was exceptionally rich for the fifteenth century, since he had studied at both English Universities, and also in Italy and France. It is said of him that his style of discourse was mild and gentle, and that he never attempted any violent rebukes as being wholly opposed to his natural dispositions. Perhaps it was just this that made all understanding between him and his diocese so hopeless. His commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon was found by Leland in the libraries of S. Peter's College, Cambridge, and of the Dominicans at Exeter.

But it is clear that preaching was not altogether so simple and gentle an affair with the other Dominicans as with Ringstead. Robert Bacon,[2] said to have been a relation of Roger's, and in his day the most respected Dominican professor at Oxford, for whom even the critical Matthew Paris has nothing but praise, made a famous attack in his sermon before Henry III on the foreign political influence that surrounded the royal court. In 1233 the King held a Parliament at Oxford, but the barons refused to attend it; "and why they did so," says Antony Wood (in his *Annals*, vol. i, p. 216), "the Chronicles will tell you at large. Robert Bacon, who used to preach before the King and the Prelates with great applause, freely told him if he did not remove from him Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rievallis, his kinsman (in the first of which the King reposed much trust, and by him was persuaded and ruled in most of his actions) he would never be at quiet. 'Tis said also that Roger Bacun, a Franciscan of pleasant wit, did second Robert's advice, telling the King that *Petrae* (stones), and *Rupes* (rocks) were most dangerous things at sea, alluding to the Bishop's name, Peter de Rupibus." But as Roger Bacon would have been at that date only fourteen years old, this saying also should be attributed to Robert.

In 1359 another Dominican got into trouble at Oxford by preaching against the Sophists or Art Faculty. Such opposition was aroused by the good friar's words that he was driven to retract his opinions and to recant in public all his "horrid

[1] Echard, vol. i, p. 672.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 118.

allegations." Logic, he was forced to declare, was the door to all the sciences, including the sacred sciences. Honourable in itself, it had this further recommendation, that it paid. As a career it secured a fitting emolument, hence if his words had possibly dissuaded anyone from the study of the arts, the preacher trusted that what he had just said would induce them to return to their schools.

A last instance, farther afield, may be given of the inconvenience to the preacher of his preaching, which sometimes arose from a deep devotion to truth. In 1331, Thomas Wallace,[1] the great Dominican orator of the fourteenth century, whom we have so frequently quoted, delivered an address before Pope John XXII on 27 December. The subject chosen, the lot of the soul after death, was not one which could in that age pass unchallenged, or have been very innocently selected, for it was well known that the Pope had a private theory of his own on the subject which was opposed to Catholic tradition, and which, finally, though he had never taught it officially since he succeeded to the prerogatives of Peter, on his death-bed he publicly recanted. Pope John held that the souls of the dead could not enter heaven till they were clothed in mortal flesh, so that the saints waited in some dim and remote Limbo till at the very end of the world the resurrection of their bodies would enable them to enter into joy. This Wallace, carried away by his devotion to the teaching of S. Thomas and the living feeling of the people, attacked with no little vehemence. The Grand Inquisitor, a Franciscan, personally agreed with John XXII, and therefore shut up the daring English friar for a year in prison, not ostensibly for differing theologically, but for reputed irreverence to the person of the Sovereign Pontiff. But Wallace was a well-known character in Europe, and found champions everywhere. His Order began a crusade in his favour, which was enthusiastically taken up by the University of Paris. At the urgent request of this powerful body the Pope surrendered the friar to them, who at once let him go scot free on the plea that he had not intended to be irreverent, the supposed irreverence being only his remark that since the defenders of this unorthodox opinion misquoted all Dominican authorities he could not hope himself to escape their malignant criticism. He had paid in any case the price of truth-telling and sincerity.

But the Order of S. Dominic had always recognized other forms of preaching besides mere pulpit oratory. When Fra Angelico, whose power of eloquence in speech was small, was accordingly jeered at by his fellow novices in phrases that bade him seek his vocation anywhere but among Preaching

[1] Mortier, vol. iii, p. 76; *C.U.P.*, vol. ii, pp. 414-425, 440; Teret, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, vol. iii (Paris, 1896).

Friars, his Novice-Master, Lawrence of Ripafratta (now beatified), forbade their taunts by noting that long after all their sermons were dust-covered and forgotten, and their voices silenced in death, the pictured gospel of the artist would still be reaching ever-widening audiences. That is obviously a prophecy amply fulfilled. It is also part of the Dominican tradition. Roger Dymoke, dedicating in 1395 his refutation of Wycliffe "to the Most Glorious and Revered Prince and Lord, the Lord Richard, by divine favour King of England and France," styles himself the King's "most humble orator and most poor preacher and liegeman . . . unworthy professor of Scripture and the least of the Order of Preachers." Perhaps the "poor preacher" was a fitting title, in that he was poor in speech, but he had found at least a way to sound the praises of truth. The chief condition of true eloquence is that it should be alive. Herein then may be the value of pen and pencil and palette for a Preaching Friar.

In music we hear of John Roose of York, but his business lay rather in the mechanical trade of organ-building than in organ-playing. He repaired both the great organ of the Minster, and the lesser one in the Lady Chapel.[1] In literature we may place the name of Robert Bacon, or whatever other Dominican wrote the noble *Ancren Riwle* (cf. McNabb, O.P., *Modern Language Review*, vol. xi, No. 1, January 1916, pp. 1-8), and of Friar Geoffrey, the grammarian who composed a well-known Latin-English Dictionary, which still in its printed form figures in modern catalogues of second-hand books; its value for us, however, lies rather in its fascinating collection of Norfolk dialects than in their Latin equivalents.[2] In art there is the strange name of John Cifrewas (or Sifrewas), an old west country family, whose wonderful illuminations give splendour to the Sherborne Missal in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, and to the Lovell Psalter. At a period of rather decadent ornamentation his miniatures and foliated pages are miracles of beauty and sober good taste. Medical science also naturally found much favour among the friars, since they lived wholly in the towns where the want of sanitation made the huddled existence of the poor a very haunt of disease and death. From the days of John of S. Giles, a professor of medicine at Montpelier, who had cured of fever Grosseteste and the young Earl of Gloucester, both de Montfort's friends, right on there was a constant stream of Dominican writers on medical subjects.

Robert of York[3] was a well-known authority who speculated freely, not only on herbal properties, but on alchemy and

[1] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 1881, pp. 19 and 20.
[2] *Archaeological Journal*, 1884, p. 5.
[3] Echard, vol. i, p. 625.

magic. From him, it was stated, nature had kept none of her secrets. Henry Daniel[1] also wrote at great length on medicine, diagnosing diseases of all kinds, and prescribing remedies that savour far more of modern methods of diet than of actual chemist's doings. Noblest of all these was Holcot. A student of universal knowledge, he had dabbled in surgery, in medicine, as well as in every other art and craft then discovered; yet his greatness was shown not in his devices but in his death, for at the outbreak of the Black Death in 1349 he set himself to help and nurse the infected poor, and, catching the contagion from his patients, added another name to the medical faculty's roll of honour.

History also attracted the writers of the English Province. As early as 1284 John Rufus[2] wrote a *Chronicle of Popes and Roman Emperors*, and worked out under more original conditions the *Annals of Cornwall*. Thomas Stubbs,[3] a hundred years later, completed to his own time the *Chronicles of the Archbishops of York*, which remains our chief authority for a good deal of the period covered by it. Its last reprint was in London, 1652. Holcot's moralizing of history (British Museum, Arundel MSS., cod. 384) has already been mentioned in another connection. But the prince of mediaeval historians for accuracy and sheer historic worth is Nicholas Trivet, an English Dominican. The son of a Justice in Eyre of Henry III, he received some rigid training that made restraint and truth the marks of life and work. A chatty companion (his name appears in the royal accounts as having helped to entertain the clerks who watched by the body of Piers Gaveston during their prolonged sojourn at Oxford),[4] he deftly introduced here and there into his chronicles little touches that make his pages sparkle with life. In his devotional work on the *Mirror of the Priesthood*, his love of quaint conceits is displayed, for he notes in the preface: "If any desire out of curiosity to find the name of the author of this work, let him begin from the Prologue and take the capital letters in order." By this means out of 112 quarto pages this acrostic is revealed: FRATER NICHOLAS TREVET DE ORDINE PREDICATORUM HUNC TRACTATUM COMPILAVIT AD HONOREM DEI—Friar Nicholas Trivet of the Order of Preachers compiled this tractate to the honour of God. Another devotional work, his *Commentary on the Psalter*, is dedicated to John of Bristol, the contemporary Dominican provincial, while his gloss on the *Declamations of Seneca* is inscribed to his fellow friar, John of Levinham or Lenham, "confessor to the illustrious King of England." In his preface to these *Declamations*, Trivet states that in the winter of his twenty-eighth

[1] Echard, vol. i, p. 676.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 396.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 671.
[4] *Reliquary*, 1883, p. 155; *Annales*, p. xx.

year "my old illness in a more violent form, making my limbs full of aches, my nerves and joints all paining and my whole body apparently broken up," had settled on him. This had so absolutely crippled him that he had practically abandoned the undertaking of his Commentary as completely beyond his power, but "so many people have asked me for an interpretation of Seneca's words that I resumed my task, and trusting in God's help and the merits of my fellow-friars (for whose increase I have devoted all my labours) I took courage, and now send the results to you for your good pleasure, that you who first gave me the motive might first taste of the fruit. Yet do I put condition to your possessing these notes, to wit, that you would remember in your prayers me who am halfway betwixt life and death." Beyond this passing reference to himself there is little in his works to guide us in our desire to find out more about the writer. He taught with some distinction at Oxford, where his signature is appended to a condemnation by the University of the opinions of Wycliffe. After his name a note is added in the original manuscript to say that when he had signed the condemnation he returned immediately to the schools to continue his lecture, so that he must actually in 1315 have been holding his professorial chair in Oxford.[1] His annals, from the Creation to the Incarnation, and thence to the fourth century, show him to us once again in the same character as did his *Declamationes Senecae*, for in the preface he confesses that he had here also once given up the project and then subsequently resumed it at the request of Hugh of Engolisme, "Archdeacon of Canterbury and Legate of Our Lord the Pope." Begun a long time before, the work had grown wearisome to him; moreover, various interruptions had broken in upon his time, and disgusted him from continuing a labour which was not altogether congenial. Truth to tell it appears evident that Nicholas was at this period considerably alive to the stir and bustle of his own time, and was really out of touch with the far-off interests of earlier days. Quick, affectionate, steeped in the full stream of national movements and foreign policy, easily moved to begin, as easily depressed and discouraged, learned, observant, chatty, and accurate, it was only the nearer past that held his fancy. Yet because it was the convention of all chronicles to begin, scholastic-wise, from the beginning, embarking upon the tale of more ancient happenings, he had first to cover the whole story of the universe before he could devote himself to the period that really interested him. Tired of the business, yet "under pressure of my love for Hugh and my gratitude for Hugh's kindness to

[1] The condemnation is dated February, 1315; the day noted as that on which he dined with the custodians of Gaveston's body is 1 December 1314.

NICOLAS TRIVET, O.P. (1258-1328)

THE ENGLISH CHRONICLER, FROM A MS. AT QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

From a photograph by Gillman and Co., Ltd., Oxford

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me and my Order" he struggled on to the fourth century. Beyond that no human inducement could move him. His next work ignored the succeeding centuries, and began the *Annals of the Angevins* from 1136 to 1307. Here were human figures, alive, real, almost contemporary, so his interest quickens and his story runs easily. His authorities are all quoted, his descriptions are carefully referred to first-hand witnesses of the men and their events, his judgement is clear, accurate, unprejudiced. In describing Henry III and Edward I, he is touching on matters that fell within his personal experience, and his words are more valuable. His sudden, staccato phrases call up the short, sturdy figure of Henry III, with his drooping eye-lids[1] which Edward I even more pronouncedly inherited, for in Edward's case even the colour of the left eye was almost entirely obscured to an observer by this over-hanging lid.[2] Henry was for Trivet "in worldly affairs imprudent, but in spiritual affairs most devout."[3] It is the pious side of the King's character that most interests him. For example, he notes that daily the King heard three sung Masses (*cum nota*, *i.e.*, chaunted to plain song) and several low Masses. To him S. Louis of France urged one day, when the two lay encamped in France, in half-scandalized banter, that it was also a good thing to hear sermons, which Henry apparently avoided. The Saint's rebuke was answered with "courtly humour," says the chronicler (with deep mystic insight, we would further add): "I would rather see my Friend than hear another speak ever so well of Him." But despite the favourable touches given to Henry's description, it is Edward I who is the hero of his story.[4] The fine, kingly figure, towering above court and crowd,[5] is the subject that most fascinates Friar Nicholas. The beautiful hair of Edward as a boy, flaxen almost to silver, then growing dark, then in older age "swan-white," is a memory he can never forget. Persuasive in speech, with splendid physique, his hands never for an instant still, but nervously playing with and breaking any object near, magnificent, impatient, quickly roused, and as quickly soothed, with the Angevin love of war and the chase, the figure of the King is made instant with life. Even Edward's humour and respect for his parents is told of, and this by the happy narration of an event that happened in 1281. He was then paying a visit to the Queen-Mother, who was living at Amesbury with the nuns of the famous monastery there:[6] "It happened that during his visit a certain fellow was brought in to see his mother, pretending that after many years of blindness he had recovered his sight at the tomb of Henry, the late king. But King Edward knew the man to be a famous impostor, long

[1] *Annales*, p. 280. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 281. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 280.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 280. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 281. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

accustomed to lying and fraud, and begged his mother to give no credence to the tale. She, however, only grew furiously angry with him for doubting so evident a miracle wrought by his father's memory, and ordered him out of her room. Humbly he obeyed her, and coming out of the door ran into the Dominican Provincial, Friar Hugh of Manchester, an exceptionally discreet and learned man, on terms of intimate friendship with the King. Edward, button-holing him, told him the story of his mother's anger, adding: "I know so well my father's love of justice that I am sure he would be much more likely to have taken away the sight of such a villain than have restored it to such a lump of iniquity." Evidently Edward convinced the Queen in the end, for he left next day for Wales "with his mother's leave." All through this part of the work there could have been certainly no need for John of Lenham or Hugh of Engolesme to press him forward. It is the figures themselves moving in and out of the world, and folk he knew so well, that compelled his fingers, despite their rheumatism, to trace each slow letter till the whole was complete. Nor is he blind to his own word-skill, for he unconsciously contrasts to his own (like only in their careful truth) the writings of Ralph Bocking, the Preaching Friar, who, as Chaplain of S. Richard of Chichester, had written the life of that Saint. This biography, he informs us, though true and accurate, is "very rough in style."[1]

What is certainly to be regretted is that the Annals stop with the death of Edward I, for we still need that the events of the next reign should be told us by someone friendly to luckless Edward of Carnarvon. The poor Prince of Wales succeeded to the prestige of his father, which was great indeed, but no less to his economic mismanagement, which was even greater. The consequent breakdown of the Exchequer, which occasioned most of the troubles of the reign, was hardly to be laid to the shoulders of Edward II, nor was the failure of the Scotch war so much royal as baronial in its cause. Now it is just here that in the interests of historic truth we should so welcome a Dominican portrait, for Edward II held always nearest to his heart the Preaching Friars. It is to them that the remains of his murdered friend, Piers Gaveston, were entrusted; and, until the fine church of King's Langley was finished, it was again among the Blackfriars of Oxford that the dear body rested. Publicly, in the official records of the Patent Rolls, Edward particularly insisted on his great love for "the glorious confessor, Blessed Dominic."[2] The friars were his friends in life, at death, and after death. Young men were always fond of him, Dominicans no less than others, though perhaps here the radiant habit added an

[1] *Annales*, p. 242.

[2] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 8 Edw. II, p. 2, m. 8.

idealizing touch to the King's delight in youth. Yet Trivet, who lived one year beyond Edward's reign, is vexatiously silent; perhaps he disagreed with the King, or feared the vengeance of the nobles, and, rather than lift a pen against his friend and join the throng of evil speakers, preferred to leave in silence the turmoil of those years.

In these ways, by voice and pen, the English friars preached truth to their Christian folk in these islands; but to the Jews also they felt they had their message. Their first settlement was in the Jewry at Oxford, though it can be disputed whether their *Domus Conversorum* was more connected with converts from Judaism than with public accounts.[1] As early as 1242 Robert Bacon has two converts to his credit, for whom the King paid 40*s.* for keep, and a mark extra for clothing; by law every Jew was a royal chattel, for whom the crown was responsible. In 1245 Bacon again is mentioned in the Patent Rolls as being able to furnish the name of an apostate Jew who had even been advanced to the office of acolyte before he had thus returned to his father's faith. The Sheriff of Oxford was directed to pursue and arrest him. Eleven years later, at the instance of John of Darlington, a Dominican councillor in whom Henry III reposed much trust, another convert Jew, named John (perhaps out of devotion to the friar who had received his abjuration), came up before the courts. He had been implicated in the crucifixion of a boy at Lincoln, and had evidently been among the Hebrews brought up in chariots from that city, as Matthew Paris informs us, and placed as much for protection as for punishment in the Tower of London.[2] The Constable was commanded to surrender the said John to the friar's keeping. From an apostolic point of view there was obviously much occasion then for intercourse between the Dominicans and the Jews, and it was heightened considerably by the extreme interest taken by the friars in Scriptural studies. Greek was unknown except to a few special students in the West, but Hebrew was a general accomplishment for any Biblical scholar. Special Dominican convents in Spain were especially set apart for the pursuit of Semitic languages, and in one case known to us, actually a Hebrew professor, a Rabbi and not a Christian, was appointed to a Chair in a Dominican House of Studies in the thirteenth century.[3] It was only under the stifling reaction, induced by a pagan renaissance, that any restriction was put to the study of Hebrew. Yet from the beginning the ways of learning were not always smooth or straight. Friar Richard of Reading, well thought of in London as a preacher, set himself to acquire a knowledge of that sacred tongue, the better to

[1] *Reliquary*, 1883, pp. 145, 148.
[2] Mat. Paris, vol. v, pp. 519, 591; P.R.O. *R. P.*, 40 Hen. III, m. 18.
[3] Mortier, vol. i, pp. 519, 520.

understand the text of Scripture. He put himself under the tuition of a certain Jew, whose careful teaching so far overcame him that he joined the Jewish religion under the name of Haggai. The subsequent proceedings were prompt and presumably effective. The King in 1275 put the matter into the hands of the contemporary Archbishop of Canterbury, actually the Dominican Robert Kilwardby, bidding him secure the capture of the apostate friar, whose name, however, does not anywhere afterwards occur.[1] Of course he may have been done away with, but the usual method of attack was wholly persuasive. On one occasion[2] the Blackfriars were denied all help in food, and reduced to starvation because of their defence of falsely accused Hebrews; on another their Provincial petitioned the King, who seconded his efforts, against any attempt on the part of sheriffs and bailiffs to impede the Jews from becoming Christians, as the friars were most anxious to preach to them.[3]

The attitude of the Dominicans to the crusades was strikingly curious. For while they energetically took up the work of preaching and collecting money for the chivalrous purpose of freeing the sepulchre of Christ from pagan ownership, they really developed a theory which overthrew the whole reason for securing this by force of arms. As early as 1229 we hear of an English friar, Walter, actually with the armies of the Cross, preaching to them and saying Mass in Jerusalem after the capture of the city;[4] from 1228[5] onwards Ivo, an Englishman, governed the Province of the Holy Land till 1235; and in 1268[6] Geoffrey, an English Dominican, became Bishop of Hebron and Vicar of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem; but, of course, their chief work was done at home. By royal command, on 12 March 1252,[7] the Preaching Friars and Friars Minor were told to send to London a sufficient number of prudent preachers to work up the enthusiasm of the people; and this was supplemented in the May of that year by an appeal to the Archbishops and Bishops to urge all the friars within their own dioceses to do this locally as well. Moreover, King Henry III suggested that in each diocese a strong place should be set apart for storing the money collected by the friars. Two years later, by the hands of William of Fresney, the Dominican Archbishop of Rages or Edessa, whose tombstone, built into a farmhouse at Rhuddlan, still shows the friar in his pontifical habit, Henry III sent a letter to the Pope, asking that his vow of

[1] *Merry England*, 1889, p. 439.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 438.
[3] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 8 Edw. I, p. 1, m. 27.
[4] Mat. Paris, vol. iii, p. 177.
[5] Palmer, *Life of Philip Thomas Howard*, p. 21.
[6] Echard, vol. i, pp. 282, 283.
[7] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 36 Hen. III, m. 22 dorso; m. 16 dorso.

going to the Holy Land might be commuted into a crusade against the Saracens of the North African shore.[1] This idea was suggested by the fact that, in his treaty of peace with Henry, the King of Castile had put down among the articles of agreement a joint expedition for this purpose. However, in 1255, Pope Alexander IV declined to accede to this, not through any fault in the eloquence of William of Fresney, as he is careful to note, but only because even louder and more touching was the despairing cry of "that miserable Jerusalem Kingdom."[2] Matthew Paris wickedly declares that the Pope offered instead a crusade against Apulia; but the official letter does not make any such suggestion. Matthew, as usual, retails just the spiteful gossip that rumour brought to his abbey. Anyway, Henry III fell into line with the rest of Christendom again, and asked the Provincial to appoint in the next Provincial Chapter friars to preach the Cross in every diocese, as desired by the Bishop of Norwich, who had been appointed to oversee the whole business of the crusade. A few pickings of money left over from the collections (£10 in all) were allowed to stay at Haverfordwest with the Dominicans, by leave of Rostand, the Papal Legate.[3] Almost the last reference to the Preaching Friars and the crusade is the letter of Geoffrey, Bishop of Hebron and Vicar of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 5 October 1280, wherein that Dominican prelate gives to King Edward I a full account of the affairs of the Holy Land.[4]

We have said that this is almost the last reference to the crusade among the English Dominican records, for a new ideal had at that very date caught the enthusiastic and adventurous chivalry of the friars. No longer will they stir up the forces of Europe to dispossess the Saracen of the Holy Sepulchre. An easier way to secure its being in Christian hands suddenly dawned upon them. They would convert the Saracens themselves; then all need of armed intervention would cease. In the different provinces of the Order this new vision was welcomed with devotion. Its foremost patron was Pope John XXII (1316-1334), who found time amidst his war of pamphlets and swords with Louis of Bavaria to carry on a huge attack of missionary enterprise. Hardly had the Pope been two years upon the throne than he addressed a letter[5] to "our beloved sons the Friars Preachers in the lands of the Saracens, Pagans, Greeks, Bulgars, Cuman Tartars, Iberi, Alani, Gazaenes, Goths, Ruthenians, Jacobites, Nubians, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, Indians, Macolites, and

[1] Gumbley, O.P., *Journal of Flintshire Hist. Society* (1914-1915).
[2] Rymer, vol. i, pp. 308, 316; Mat. Paris, vol. v, p. 457.
[3] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 40 Hen. III, m. 9.
[4] P.R.O. *Royal Letters, etc., Chancery, No.* 2246; Echard, vol. i, p. 383.
[5] Mortier, vol. ii, p. 508.

other non-believing nations in the East and North"—thus on 1 May 1318 there was already a far-flung battle line of friars, dating certainly from the last decade of the thirteenth century. Into this army of advance the English Province sent some of its sons. The Royal Patent Rolls of 1320[1] record permission granted to Friars Robert of Brayhook, John of Stone, Robert of Atcomb, for safe conducts on leaving the kingdom to preach to the Saracens, and in the same year Edward II gave them letters of recommendation to the King of Cyprus, since their visit to that island had been arranged for by the Master-General.[2]

Just about that very year[3] John, an English Dominican (is it John of Stone, the sole surviving member of that little band? If so, then ideas must have been so vague as to make Saracens a wide term for all Eastern unbelievers!) was labouring with Bartholomeo of Bologna in the work of reconciling the Armenians to the Holy See. Here their work was marvellously successful. Bartholomeo and John, together with another John, a native of Florence, set to work to learn Armenian in order the better to accomplish their mission. They entered into friendly relations with Abbot John of Cherna, who was himself desirous, for the greater spiritual profit of his people, to unite them with the Latin Church. A meeting of Armenian Abbots from the Basilian monasteries of the country was summoned by him, and after much theological discussion the Papal claims were accepted, and submission to the Roman See guaranteed. But far more than this was done. It was found that the monasteries had lost their earlier fervour, and could no longer act as centres of spiritual force to enlighten and to inflame the people. Hence the whole assembly begged to be admitted to the Dominican Order. As a commencement, and for a better understanding of what might follow, the friars, Bartholomeo of Bologna and John of England, devoted themselves to the task of translating several books into Armenian, and in an incredibly short time had produced the *Summa Contra Gentes* of Aquinas, the *Tertia Pars* (dealing with the Incarnation, the Sacraments, etc.) of his *Summa Theologica*, the *Summa Conscientiae* (no doubt of S. Raymund Pennafort, O.P.), the Psalter, the Rule of S. Augustine, the Constitutions of the Friars Preachers, the Breviary and Missal according to the Dominican rite. Within three years the whole had been completed. After much further discussion, which included a visit of John of Cherna to Rome in 1348, the whole body of religious in Armenia became organized as the United Friars of Armenia, subject in some way to the Dominican Order, requiring the presence of a Dominican at all their Provincial Chapters, and,

[1] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 14 Edw. II, m. 22 dorso. [2] *Ibid.*, m. 22 dorso.
[3] Mortier, vol. iii, p. 321.

with some modifications, living the full Dominican rule. Individual poverty they did not observe, nor the rigorous abstention from a meat diet, and the colour of the scapular was black instead of white. This changed habit is identical with that of the lay brothers of the Order, and suggests that they did not become priests, but remained as brothers, after the fashion of so many of the monks. Between 1330 and 1348 all this apparently had been completely arranged, and a new branch of the Dominican Order in this strange fashion put forth. Even in 1342 intercourse between the Armenians and the West had so far progressed that the English royal accounts mention 55*s.* 4*d.* given to John of Armenia and Stephen of the Armenian Province, a Friar Preacher, both of whom had come on a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Thomas of Canterbury.[1] It looks as though this recorded a visit from Friar John of England (as he was known in Armenia), or of Armenia (as he was known in England), who had come to take care of John of Cherna in his visit to the West. But in the early days of this wonderful Armenian conversion there are so many Johns mentioned that it is exceedingly hazardous to identify, with any certainty, which John of them all is in a particular instance referred to. In any case, this is at least additional evidence of the close connection between the English Province and the Armenians. By 1381 the Turks had begun their terrible connection with that almost destroyed people by ravaging the whole of Armenia, and massacring, as they have done at intervals ever since, every one they could find. Monasteries as well as townships went down in the terrible collapse, and the United Friars appear almost to have ceased to retain any corporate existence. Urban VI therefore allowed a number of them to join the Order as a regular province, not simply attached to the friars as they had been, but constituting, like any other province, a normal group in the Dominican organization.

Another scene of very fruitful missionary enterprise was the country grouped round Sultanyeh.[2] Here, in the Bull of 1318 already referred to, a hierarchy was set up, with a primate and six suffragans, all taken from the Dominican Order. The actual sees were not specified by the Pope, though the prelates themselves are named. Already, of course, Christianity had been preached to these people, and they had a fine tradition of thirteen hundred years. But heresy and ignorance and the political effects of the schism had kept the East isolated from Rome; it was to re-unite the branch to its parent stem that the purpose of the friars was turned. From every province subjects were invited, and the importance of

[1] P.R.O. *Treasury of Recept. Excheq.*, vol. $A\frac{5}{10}$; L.G., pp. 17-19 [15-18] Edw. III.

[2] Mortier, vol. ii, p. 509; vol. iii, p. 321.

the work was insisted upon by several General Chapters. Sultanyeh itself is described as possessing twenty-five churches. In 1403 an English friar, William Belets,[1] was created its bishop by Boniface IX as his previous choice, the Dominican Bishop Nicholas of Ferrara, refused to exchange his own diocese for one so far afield. It does not appear, however, that even Belets went to his distant see. Up till the middle of the fifteenth century the bishops of Sultanyeh were all chosen from among the Friars Preachers; in 1423 one of the United Friars of Armenia was wisely selected for the office, thus securing and soothing national feeling. But then came the new fury of the Turk, and the relations of East and West grew rarer because less possible. Even on the western borders of the Black Sea the white habit, with its black mantle, was to be found, and the English speech of that wonderful age could have been heard. Once again it was John XXII who was the main mover of the enterprise. The Franciscans were sent to Pekin, and their friars established by Pope John "in far Cathay" in a regular hierarchy of prelates. But the inhospitable Crimea was chosen for the children of S. Dominic. Here again the English Province sent adventurous souls on the quest of God.[2] In 1328 Francis of Camerino and Richard of England received to the faith Millemi, Prince of the Alanis, and Versacht, King of the Ziques, and were despatched to Rome to settle the terms of the union and to obtain more missionaries to work among the tribes which now so strongly desired to be linked up with the Western Church. Crossing the lone regions north of the Black Sea the two missionaries passed through the fringe of the Byzantine Empire and came to Constantinople on their return. Here, made hopeful by their successful labours farther east, they endeavoured to bring the Emperor Andronicus III into the same state of union. For its own ends the Greek Court affected to be sympathetic to the desires of the two friars, and sent warm greetings to the Papacy. Cheered by this, and perhaps in their eagerness rather exaggerating the prospects of re-union, the missionaries arrived in Rome, and were gladly received by Pope John XXII. His apostolic spirit caught here another vision, and as he had so frequently blessed and despatched to Eastern peoples the Preaching Friars, so once again he addressed (22 May 1332)[3] a letter to the Master-General and Chapter then sitting at Dijon, exhorting them to send more labourers to the vineyard. The Chapter demanded reinforcements from the provinces, and determined to set up priories where the Eastern languages might be learnt and missionaries trained scientifically for their work. To help on and establish

[1] Bullarium, vol. iii, p. 454.
[2] Eubel, *Hierarchia Cat. Med. Ævi*, vol. i, p. 190.
[3] *Acta Gen. Cap.*, vol. ii, p. 220.

more firmly the newly born Church, Pope John himself consecrated Francis and Richard, nominating the Italian Archbishop of Vospero and the Englishman Bishop of the Chersonese, and suggesting that the two cathedrals should be dedicated to S. Michael and S. Clement. Evidently the prelates at once set off on their journey, taking with them commendatory letters from the Pope, who praised their zeal and stimulated their fervour, for copies of these letters, dated the Feast of S. Dominic that year, are to be found in the Dominican Bullarium; but the future fate of the two is lost. Friar Richard of England, like Friar John of Armenia, has left little record of his doings. Here and there in Bulls and Chapter Records, and fragmentary accounts from Royal Alms Books, are to be found references to one or other of these missionaries, who fared forth from these islands on the quest of God; but the full story of their work was not told, or kept, or even known on this side of their "sundering seas." The Crusades had failed one by one to restore by force of arms the Sepulchre of Christ; even this nobler ideal of converting the whole of the East, and bringing all back to the Faith, came no nearer to accomplishment. But the vision of it was seen, and the effort heroically made, to establish as actual fact that dream of many souls.

Here then in England, by preaching and by pen, the attempt was made to explain the Creed according to the capacity of the hearers of the Gospel. The names of Wallace and Bromyard and Gorham stand in the first line of mediaeval preachers in England; in the arts shines almost solitary the figure of John Cifrewas; in science we hear of John of S. Giles in medicine, of Kilwardby in philosophy, of Hotham and Claypole in theology, of Trivet in history. Across the seas pass the half-remembered forms, ghostly in the unsubstantial figures that they show, of John and Richard, of Belets, and Robert of Brayhook and Robert of Atcomb. But the clamour of the pulpit and the schools has died down into silence, and death has made dumb the most eloquent of lips. A stillness holds those broken records of the past. Perhaps future labours may lay bare many details now buried, but the probability is that, as they would all best have wished, all, except the coloured miniatures of Cifrewas and the as vivid miniatures of Trivet, everything is forgotten and unknown.

Wisely does Rhetoric in Simon Memmi's fresco in the Dominican Church of S. Maria Novella alone of all the sciences hold a scroll in perfect quietness, making no movement with the hands. A trumpet would have suggested greater noise, but the text of the scroll suggests that it is the silent lips taught of God alone which gives strength:

Mulceo dum loquor, varios indulta colores.

CHAPTER VI

ROYAL CONFESSORS

BESIDES their work as teachers and preachers, the sons of S. Dominic took another prominent part in the national life. For one hundred and forty-four years, without intermission, they were the confessors of our English kings. The house of Plantagenet, from its third generation to its sad end, was guided in its spiritual life by the disciples of S. Thomas of Aquin. Of course, the *Curia Regis* was already graced by an official "Keeper of the King's conscience," who eventually became the Lord Chancellor, and from whom developed the whole judicial system of equity; but even as early as the reign of Henry II this functionary had ceased to have any spiritual connection with his royal master, so that there was plenty of scope left to these friars to endeavour to keep watch and ward over this fiercest, most lawless, yet noblest race of the English blood royal. When the house of Lancaster succeeded on the deposition of Richard II it transferred its spiritual trust to the care of the Carmelite friars. The Dominicans were considered too much attached to the older line of kings. However, eventually, Henry IV went back to the Friars Preachers, as also did his grandson, Henry VI. The house of York does not seem to have patronized any particular religious order to guide its easily running conscience, though two of Edward's children, George, Duke of Bedford, who died in infancy, and Richard, Duke of York, one of the murdered children of the Tower,

> The most replenished sweet work of nature
> That from the prime creation e'er she framed,

were born in the Dominican Priory of Shrewsbury. Fortunately, the Black Friars were spared the adventurous and intricate task of soothing the scruples of "bluff King Hal," though one of their number, Geoffrey Athequa, as confessor to Catherine of Aragon, consoled and strengthened that most injured Queen.[1] Princess Mary followed her mother in the choice of her director, selecting Friar John Hopton, O.P., whom she promoted later to the bishopric of Norwich. Then, too, the hapless Mary Queen of Scots, whose character is one of the moot points of history, had a Dominican confessor in Roche Mamerot. Nicholas Gorham, whose name has appeared among the list of famous preachers of the English Province, went oversea as confessor to King Philip of France, while a Dominican from Italy was chaplain to Queen Margaret of Anjou till all her hopes were lost and her royalty almost renounced. Finally, the wife of Charles II, Queen Catherine of

[1] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII*, vol. vii, p. 717, etc.

Braganza, chose as her chaplain Friar Thomas Howard, O.P., subsequently the Cardinal of Norfolk, the reorganizer in post-Reformation days of the English Province of S. Dominic.

No doubt the reason for this constant and consistent choice lay in the fact that this Order was in an especial way famed for its knowledge of theology:

> For some given are to chivalry,
> Some to riot and ribaldry,
> But friars are given to great study,
> And to great prayers.

Probably this verse is meant satirically, but its irony springs from the popular notion that it represented truth. In fact, these Dominican confessors of royalty have left a number of manuscript works on every conceivable subject of mediaeval learning. John of Darlington helped in the Great Concordance of the sacred Scriptures;[1] Walter de Winterbourne[2] wrote many treatises, amongst others, a famous *De Peccato Originali*; Luke of Woodford was an Oxford professor;[3] John of Woodrowe held a chair of theology at Cambridge;[4] John of Wrotham was declared by his royal penitent in 1320 to be a fluent speaker in French, Irish, Welsh, and Scotch, as well as a pastmaster in his native English;[5] Thomas Rushook was the first to be asked to address the famous Westminster Council of 1374. The conduct of Rushook at this council shows that Dominican theology was certainly cautious and not inclined to dogmatize or pronounce *ex cathedra* decisions, even in the midst of reverend and learned theologians. The question to be discussed in the council was sufficiently thorny to have inconveniently perplexed the most wary of doctors. It was as to the exact meaning of the Pope's dominion over ecclesiastical temporalities and his feudatory claim to England. On a bench in front of the Prince of Wales (the Black Prince) and the Archbishop of Canterbury (William of Witlesey) sat Rushook with three other masters of theology. The Dominicans had already a century earlier, at a previous public gathering, declared their principles, so that one can imagine how all eyes were turned to the provincial of the Friar Preachers to see if he dared in the presence of the archbishop and bishops defend the expediency of advocating the popular and royal cause, even while admitting the Papal claims. Rushook was the first called upon to deliver his opinion. He rose to reply. In the still silence of the council room he began by exposing the difficulty of his position. Then as the prelates listened eagerly for his answer, he gave them with great eloquence no answer at all; but told them it was the custom of his

[1] *Antiquary*, 1890, p. 115. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 119. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 263. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

Order to begin every arduous and intricate discussion by singing a votive Mass in honour of the Holy Ghost or at least the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Until such had been done he felt himself unable to come to any sure and definite judgement. Then he sat down, leaving the question exactly as he had found it. The council continued in debate two days. The Black Prince made a very military oration, calling the bishops asses; eventually a majority of the theologians were induced to vote for the royal cause. It is clear that Rushook was himself inclined to the King's party, for some years later he was accused of browbeating the judges into their famous decision at Nottingham, 21 August 1387, whereby the royal authority over Parliament in its commissions of reform, order of business, dissolution, and impeachment was decided to be absolute. Impeached himself in the Merciless Parliament of 1388, and condemned by his peers, Bishop Rushook (he had been consecrated to Llandaff in 1383, translated to Chichester in 1385) was banished to Ireland, where he died of grief in 1393. Though in Ireland he had become Bishop of Kilmore, he could not rest there even in the grave, and now lies buried in the parish church of Seale, in Kent.[1]

But the life of a courtier was naturally difficult to reconcile with the life of a begging friar. The strict regulations of monastic discipline had to be modified to a certain extent to allow the Dominicans to perform their confessorial work. Thus as early as 1250 there is a bull of Pope Innocent IV to King Henry III giving permission to the friars to relax their rule so far as to ride on horseback: "Graciously assenting to the request of your Highness, We hereby grant that such friars as are about you may ride on horseback as often as you may desire it."[2] Then again in 1321, on 8 October, the King, the ill-fated Edward II, wrote from Porchester to Pope John XXII for leave to allow the royal confessor, Robert of Duffield, to converse at table.[3] He asked further that Friar Robert might also use the privilege (then as now granted only to royalty and bishops) of giving licence to his Dominican brethren also to talk during the community meal-time. This should not, however, in any way be taken to imply that the friars at Court fell into lax ways. The fact that a very large number of them had previously held the provincialate shows that they were to be counted among the most zealous of their Order; and the very asking for papal dispensations from the perpetual silence and from foot journeyings tends to prove that up to that time the constitutions of their rule had been rigorously enforced.

Sometimes, indeed, the double set of ties, to Order and to Court, did make it difficult for a friar to fulfil his duty; but

[1] *Antiquary*, 1890, pp. 265, 266.
[2] Bull., vol. vii, p. 24.
[3] P.R.O. *Rot. Rom. et Franc.*, 15-18 Edw. II, m. 13 dorso.

in almost every case compromise was not allowed to infringe upon the obligations of religious life. Already we have called attention to the despatch of Hotham to Rome on a royal embassy to the Pope, in order that a distasteful decree of a General Chapter, assigning him to teach in a foreign house of studies, might be carefully ignored; but the implication of the Pope in the manœuvre preserves the friar from blame. In 1265 Henry III patiently petitioned Kilwardby, the actual Provincial, to allow John of Darlington to return to Court.[1] No command was expressed, but only a pathetic appeal, for since John had been of such help in the past, the King felt sure that "in these distressful times" (de Montfort had just been defeated and slain at Evesham) he would be helpful again. That he was helpful Matthew Paris abundantly and expressly testified.[2] Again, the letters that passed between Edward I and Thomas Jorz, the English Dominican Cardinal, while establishing beyond doubt that Jorz's promotion was due to Edward's direct intervention, shows also that no advantage of this was taken by the King to procure favours from Rome. It is true that the Cardinal's aid was asked to secure the see of S. Andrew's for William Comyn of Buchan, and that of Glasgow for Geoffrey of Mowbray, and it is obvious that Jorz was staying designedly outside Paris, in the manor of Hugh le Despenser, when that cunning diplomat was negotiating with Clement V the absolution of Edward I from his oaths to his people; but the chief things they discussed in these letters were the sad destruction of the Cardinal's effects in a fire at Bordeaux, which Edward hoped shortly himself to make good, and the return to health of both correspondents. The King especially wished the Cardinal "a long and jolly" (*jucundus*) life.[3] Edward III was rather more headstrong. Richard of Wynkley, his confessor, who had been engaged on the King's affairs, which were in no sense whatever unlawful or unworthy, had been suddenly removed from his office by the Master-General. To Master Hugh, therefore, on 20 April 1340, Edward addressed a furious epistle.[4] He expressed his astonishment at what had been done, since he took it for granted that one so highly placed as the Master-General must be a very model of prudence. The only people likely to be pleased at the affront were the King's enemies, a fact all the more monstrous and ungrateful considering how much had been done by his royal house for the "beloved Order of Preachers." Indeed, so irate was

[1] P.R.O. *Surrender, Exchequer Court of Augmentations, Thetford Blackfriars*, No. 239.

[2] Mat. Paris, vol. v, p. 549.

[3] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 34 Edw. I, m. 16; *R. P.*, 2 Edw. II, p. 1, m. 12; *Royal Letters* (*Chancery*), Nos. 2226, 2227, 3122.

[4] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 14 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 27 dorso.

Edward that he appealed to the General Chapter to reverse the sentence of the Master. Yet even by so doing he showed his respect for the constitutional practices of the Order.

After the bull of 1250 above recorded, it is noticeable how largely the horse enters at once into the life of the court confessor. The proof of this is to be found in the royal account books, which still remain to show the habits of life of the King's household. Most of the documents can be found in the Book of the Wardrobe, the Alms Rolls, and the Exchequer Rolls. Some have already been printed by order of Parliament, others still lie curled and crabbed and dog-eared in the Public Record Office. Dry as their contents seem, there is yet much interesting matter to be extracted from them by patient study. From them we gather that a considerable trade in horses was then occupying English minds, though the prices were extremely curious and varied enormously. That there should have been a considerable rise in price after the Black Death was to have been expected, since labour, rendered thereby much more scarce, could demand in consequence a higher wage, but the extraordinary fluctuations in trade, revealed in these ledgers, cannot wholly be explained even by the Black Death. Nor again can they be ascribed to the business capacity of individual confessors, their skill in bargaining, though no doubt something may be due to this; nor even to the breed or pedigree of the charger in question. Thus in 1256 three palfreys with their saddles cost £11 16*s.* 4*d.*,[1] while in 1306 two palfreys alone cost £19 6*s.* 8*d.*[2] It is, indeed, an economic truism that as the amount of specie in circulation increases, the purchasing power of money is bound to lessen, and that consequently prices (*i.e.*, nominal prices) will tend to grow higher from age to age. But then why does a bay horse in 1312 cost £6 13*s.* 4*d.*,[3] and in 1320 £4 13*s.* 4*d.*?[4] Sometimes the fluctuations are even more ridiculous, and make one wonder what sort of an animal was obtained at the end of all the bargaining. For example, in 1306 a sumpter-horse cost £8.[5] Taking into consideration the difference in the value of money then and now, the price seems perfectly reasonable. But what could the sumpter-horse be like that in 1342 fetched only 46*s.* 8*d.*?[6]

Occasionally the name of the seller of the animal is given. Perhaps this was meant as a kind of voucher to the exchequer officials that the palfrey came from a famous stud, as one might note an Arab steed from Crabbet Park. Says

[1] P.R.O. *R. de L.*, 40 Hen. III, m. 11.
[2] P.R.O. *R. E. S. Pasch.*, 34 Edw. I, m. 3.
[3] P.R.O. *Liber Codidianus Thes.*, anno 6° Edw. II.
[4] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 17362; *L. G.*, anno 13 Edw. II.
[5] P.R.O. *Liber de Hospicio R.*, 34 Edw. I.
[6] P.R.O. *R. Rom.*, 16 Edw. III, m. 2.

Chaucer in the *Squire's Tale*, talking of the renowned Apulian breed:

> Therewith so horsly and so quick of eye,
> As it a gentil Poiteis courser were.

On one occasion a Dominican royal confessor tried to do a little business of his own. In 1300 Walter de Winterbourne (who was later to be created Cardinal, and, though dying in Genoa, was buried in the Blackfriars in London) sold a black horse for £4.[1] But he rather lost over the ensuing transaction, for the dappled mare that he purchased in exchange cost him £6 13*s.* 4*d.*[2] The royal account was therefore debited £2 13*s.* 4*d.* No wonder Edward I ended his life on the verge of bankruptcy.

Parallel with these entries about horse buying are items for saddles and bridles. There is even one bill extant for twenty-four horseshoes and a hundred nails, though this must have been a perpetually recurring expense, for the horses were really well cared for.[3] Thus Walter de Winterbourne spent at Berwick 18*s.* 11*d.* on a tent for them to be kept in, besides some smaller sums laid out on cord, string, barrels, axes, etc., presumably to fit up this temporary stable.[4]

The reason for all these equestrian accounts is that the King's confessor was expected to act as ambassador for his royal master whenever occasion required. The bull of Innocent IV, giving the friars permission to ride on horseback, supposed this, and these royal accounts show that there was no intention of allowing this papal privilege to fall into abeyance. John of Darlington, the first Dominican nominated to be royal confessor, had many journeys to make. There are records of several excursions to Rome on the royal affairs.[5] Besides this, Friar John belonged to the King's party in the Elective Council of twenty-four nominated in the Provisions of Oxford (Stubbs, *Selected Charters*, p. 388). This, however, proved abortive, and never came into actual existence. Consequently he was saved a good deal of time. During the incessant French wars, too, many a confessor went backwards and forwards, trying to arrange treaties and truces that were no sooner made than broken. Again, on 29 December 1255, Roger of Chester was said to be far too ill to travel on the King's affairs to Scotland, so that the Dominican provincial was asked to substitute another in his stead,[6] and in the July of the same year, Henry III chose Gilbert of Battle and Roger of Refham to go to Sweden and negociate.[7]

[1] *Liber Quotidianus C. G.* (Society of Antiquaries, 1787), p. 79.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[3] *Antiquary*, 1890, p. 117.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[6] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 40 Hen. III, m. 18 dorso.
[7] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 39 Hen. III, m. 5; *R. C.*, 39 Hen. III, p. 1, m. 1 dorso; Rymer, vol. i, p. 325.

The Duke of Sweden himself had also sent to Henry two Dominicans, entered as Bert and Commerus, who are evidently remnants of S. Hyacinth's band of preachers, and whose Scandinavian names defied all the efforts of the royal officials to spell. To Hungary in 1346 Edward III sent Walter Atmore.[1] From the Scottish King in 1264 came Miles of Stratheam and Simon de la Fountayne, both Dominican friars, to treat with Henry;[2] in 1265, overseas Ralph de Nevers and John Le Verrer returned home on embassy;[3] in 1277 Andrew Pentechost and John Savernake cross the channel on the King's affairs.[4] Indeed, in 1277 William of Southampton, the English provincial,[5] actually made peace between Henry III and Prince Llewellyn of Wales, and, on behalf of the latter, Friar Llewellyn and his socius go down back again into Wales.[6] From Cyprus[7] the royal ambassadors in 1301 were Dominicans, as also from Aragon, 1342,[8] from Gascony in 1338,[9] from Brittany in 1362,[10] from Flanders in 1373,[11] from Brabant in 1303.[12] In 1297 John of Wrotham and William of Pickering by the King's command went to Damme;[13] and earlier in the same year 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid by royal command to Friar Gregory of Wales and his companion for going with forty soldiers from Wales to Winchelsea, so as to cross over to Flanders with the King.[14] Again it was a Dominican from Scotland, Adam of Lanark, who visited David Bruce in his prison, and no doubt arranged for the treaty whereby that prince engaged in the Dominican priory of Newcastle on Tyne to pay ransom for his freedom.[15] By a Dominican, Edward II wrote to the Pope and to Cardinal Jorz on behalf of Frederick, the son of Manfred, making a touching and chivalrous appeal for mercy, "lest the son of so great a monarch should come to want."[16]

In 1340 £30 was given to Richard of Winckley, going to the Roman court on "secret and arduous affairs touching the King";[17] in 1354 200 marks go to John Woodruff, O.P.,

[1] P.R.O. *E. S. Mich.*, 20 Edw. III, m. 40.
[2] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 21 Hen. III, m. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, 3 Edw. II, m. 16.
[4] *Ibid.*, 5 Edw. I, m. 21.
[5] P.R.O. *Liber A. Thes. R. S.*, fol. 378, 407[b].
[6] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 5 Edw. I, m. 21.
[7] P.R.O. *J. G.*, 24 March, 24 Edw. I.
[8] P.R.O. *R. R.*, 16 Edw. III, m. 3.
[9] P.R.O. *R. R. and F.*, 17 Edw. III, m. 4; *R. E. S. Mich.* 18 Edw. III, m. 1; *ibid.*, 17 Edw. III, m. 14.
[10] P.R.O. *R. E. S. Mich.*, 36 Edw. III, m. 44.
[11] *Ibid.*, 47 Edw. III, m. 13.
[12] P.R.O. *Liber P. de Abytone, C. G. Princip. Walliae*, 31 Edw. I.
[13] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 7695; *L. G. Necess.*, 25 Edw. I.
[14] *Ibid.*, *L. G. Eles.*, 25 Edw. I.
[15] P.R.O. *R. Scac.*, 30 Edw. III, m. 1.
[16] P.R.O. *R. R. and F.*, 1-3 Edw. II, m. 7.
[17] P.R.O. *R. E. S., Mich.*, 15 Edw. III, m. 5, 7.

for his expenses in going to the Roman Court "to treat of concord between Our Lord the King and those of France";[1] in 1337 Winckley deliberated with other ambassadors on a firm peace between Edward III and the kings of France and Scotland.[2] All these failed to bring about any settlement of difficulties; war was declared, which lasted more or less continually for over a hundred years. On 15 March 1346, Edward wrote to the provincial to explain his reasons for going to war with France, and he begged the provincial to acquaint his friars with the true state of affairs.[3] This primitive "blue-book" narrates the causes and motives for Edward's declaration and challenge, and the King especially desired that its contents should be explained from every pulpit occupied by the Dominicans, so as effectually "to close the mouths of those English who opposed the war." Even earlier, this use of the Preacher Friars in propaganda work for the royal policy was evidenced in 1315, for the Archbishop of York wrote on 14 January to the Prior of York, bidding him enjoin on all his brethren (and especially the Prior of Yarm) to preach against the Scots who had been doing "such horrible things against Church, King, and country."[4] Even the presence of aliens within prohibited areas came under the notice of this efficient mediaeval government, for the provincial was commanded on 10 August 1333 to change all the friars within the royal borough of Berwick by substituting English for Scotch Dominicans, and dispersing the Scotch among the priories south of the Trent.[5] War news, too, was officially sent them, for Edward in 1346, writing to the Dominican Prior of London to ask for prayers for the success of English arms, speaks of the Earl of Lancaster's victories and the enveloping movement of the French.[6]

But besides acting as foreign ambassadors, these Dominicans were engaged on the royal service in home politics. As early as 1233, on 10 April, they, together with Franciscans, accompanied the Archbishop Elect of Canterbury, and some bishops in their successful "conversations" to heal the breach between the King and his great regent, William Marshal.[7] Again, with the Franciscans in 1264, on the day of the battle of Lewes, by their mediation, Prince Edward, the son of Henry III, and Prince Henry, the son of the King's brother, Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, treated peacefully with Simon de Montfort.[8] A mysterious com-

[1] P.R.O. *L. G. R.*, 27 Edw. III.
[2] P.R.O. *R. Aleman*, 2 Edw. III, m. 2; *Rot. Scac.*, 11 Edw. III, m. 6.
[3] P.R O. *R. C.*, 20 Edw. III, m. 16 dorso.
[4] Raine, *Historical Letters and Papers*, p. 238.
[5] P.R.O. *R. Scac.*, 7 Edw. III, m. 14 dorso.
[6] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 20 Edw. III, m. 16 dorso.
[7] *Annales Tewkesbury*, vol. i, p. 92.
[8] Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, p. 154.

munication, dated 1 March 1260, still remains in official copy, whereby Henry III replies to some letters of Prince Edward which had come to him by the hand of Friar John of Darlington.[1] The King related in his answer that he had spoken three times to the friar about the matter, and was exceedingly glad about it; but no hint is given, undoubtedly of set purpose, as to what this matter might be. Any way, it certainly bore reference to the political unrest of that date, since Henry said he would send some of his "people to parts of England to see if deeds correspond to words." At another time Robert of Duffield was extraordinarily busy, going to the West of England and then to the Countess of Pembroke, and then to Oxford and elsewhere, as it is noted in each several case, "on the King's affairs." This was between 1324 and 1326.[2] Why should there have been at this particular period need for such royal activity and secret intrigue? Turn to the chronicles of the time and the whole matter becomes clear. From 1322 to 1326 were Edward's only years of real independent power, following on the defeat of the Earl of Lancaster at Boroughbridge. The Earl had been beheaded, still Edward was by no means safely established. His Queen had gone with her son and Mortimer to France, ostensibly to negotiate with the French King, really to betray the King and to obtain forces to depose him. Besides this the barons were restive, complaining of the tyranny of the royal favourites, the Despensers, and of Edward's misgovernment. To act against all this, and to prepare the West as a place of refuge in case of an uprising, may not unreasonably be supposed to have been his object in thus using the secret services of his Dominican confessor. Yet surely it is one of the ironies of history that it should have been at Berkeley Castle that Duffield had his expenses paid him on 3 February 1324,[3] for it was here that the terrible crime was committed on the same hapless Edward II, for which that grim fortress is famous in all history: "No marks of violence were seen; but though none were seen, yet some were heard; for when the fact was in doing he was heard to roar and cry all the castle over" (Baker's *Chronicle*, edition of 1679, p. 114).

In the private notebooks of the various kings, as we have seen, all the details of these journeys are carefully recorded. Some are rather amusing, as they give scope for much constructive imagination. Thus one confessor lived for four days in London on 6*s.* 8*d.*, while another for twelve days at Harwich along with a fellow Dominican, chaplain to the Prince of Wales, spent 27*s.* 7*d.*—this was on bread, beer, fish, and eggs. It is quite noticeable that there is never any

[1] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 44 Hen. III, p. 2, m. 2 dorso.
[2] *Antiquary*, 1890, p. 160.
[3] P.R.O. *Lib. de particulis expens. forensecar, C. G.*, 17 Edw. II.

mention of wine being bought, except in London. This is easy to understand, for it came from beyond the seas, and was therefore rather expensive. Consequently in London alone was there any possibility of its being picked up easily. England, as a whole, was not a wine-drinking country.[1] Again, in the metropolis, Walter de Winterbourne, in 1293, spent 72*s.* $3\frac{1}{4}$*d.* in bread, *wine*, beer, and fish. Note, that if in London de Winterbourne ventures to buy wine, he apparently does not venture to buy eggs. This stands in no need of explanation.[2]

Also from these account books the cheapness of mediaeval travelling is apparent, as when John of Lenham with his companion, John of Warfield, and a boy who looked after them, for a journey from Warnehorne to London and for a few days' stay there got five shillings.[3] But what is more marvellous, especially from the point of view of quick travelling, is a voyage undertaken by Nicholas de Herley in 1339.[4] He was sent to Valenciennes, apparently from London or Westminster, to get the King's jewels and his book of the wardrobe, which had been left behind in the priory of the Dominicans there. These things had probably been forgotten and left behind earlier in the same year, when Edward III made his useless raid into Picardy, in which province Valenciennes is situated. Nicholas started on 28 October, and got back on 3 November. That is to say, he took only seven days to go down to the sea, cross the Channel, traverse Picardy almost up to the source of the Scheldt, and then return to London. He used a cart and four horses from Valenciennes to Calais and did the whole trip on £5 13*s.* 6*d.*

In 1303, when King Edward I was in Scotland, Walter de Winterbourne seems to have had a most enjoyable time. He was already "a mighty traveller before the Eternal." He had passed a month with the Countess of Gloucester in Wales on the King's affairs, and had then been up to Scotland on 30*s.*, following the present route of the Great Northern Railway by York and Berwick, to where the King lay. Again a second time he had to proceed up the Great North Road. First of all, however, he had to spend nine weeks in London and then set out. From the beginning to the end, from 27 January to 19 April, we have a complete record of all his expenses. Only for ten days are there no accounts given, but this short interval (April 3 to 14) was probably spent at some hospitable mansion or religious house on the route.[5]

[1] Compare the self-denying ordinance of the General Chapter of London, 1250: "In those countries in which wine is not in common use, let it not be procured or bought merely for the use of a Provincial or General Chapter."—*Reichart*, vol. i, p. 53.

[2] *Antiquary*, 1890, p. 117.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Naturally enough for a Dominican who forswore the use of flesh-meat (and in all these accounts, in all the centuries, I do not remember to have found one single entry of meat having been bought) the heaviest item on the bill was fish, which cost £3 11*s.* 6½*d.* Bread is the next most expensive provision. Also we note that after leaving London he does not taste wine at all. It is, too, in London alone that he buys any candles, and then only 1*s.* 5*d.* worth. At Burton, appropriately, he puts down 1½*d.* for beer. This wholesome beverage was the third most expensive item on his hotel bills, though during three months it only cost him 6*s.* 8*d.*[1]

In Scotland the roads seem to have been rather rougher than in England, for we find him forced to spend 3*s.* 9*d.* on ironwork for repairing the cart, as it is rather invidiously called. The actual pace, judging by the time recorded in passing between certain towns, averaged about twenty miles a day.[2] This is really fast travelling, if one stops to consider the state of the roads, especially at that time of the year. This much may, furthermore, be urged in favour of the Dominican's horse and chariot, that they had a good deal of luggage to carry. Mention is made of transporting, in one place, "chattels and provender,"[3] in another, "the father confessor's bed,"[4] in a third, "two stout coffers to carry victuals."[5]

Yet, despite the horses, there is an enormous bill for shoe-leather. This, indeed, is the most frequent item of all. In 1289 Winterbourne gets a pair of new boots when sent off to visit Alban, the King's page, who was lying sick at Blakeney.[6] In November he got 6*d.* to buy himself winter shoes. That was not much. But in 1311, on 28 December, the confessor was given another 5*s.*[7] The year 1312 seems to have been particularly bad, thus 4 March, 3*s.* 6*d.*, 26 May, 3*s.* Then the bill seems to have been allowed to run on for some time, for in the next year the account book shows 24*s.* spent all at once. Altogether things were getting too expensive; so Edward II tried a new experiment with Robert of Duffield.[8] Henceforward the royal confessor was to receive 40*s.* a year, with which he had to find his own boots and saddles. Besides this, he was to have new habits, new bed-clothes, and new coverlets every year at Pentecost and All Saints. Not, however, that this new regime was always adhered to. For instance, in 1377, at the end of March (and Pentecost can never fall earlier than 10 May), William Seward receives cloth for winter and summer habits, bedding, table linen, etc. Still the regulation made for Duffield is continued for his successors up to the death of Richard II.

[1] *Antiquary*, 1890, p. 117.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

This yearly gift of winter and summer habits is carefully and accurately measured. In the winter, eleven ells of white cloth were given for the actual habit, and eleven ells of black cloth for the cloak, or *cappa*, worn over the white, from which, indeed, the Dominicans were known in England as the Black Friars. In the summer the white cloth was to be twelve ells in length and the black twelve ells and a half. However, besides this there were twelve more ells for riding cappas "clothed within," and a great deal more of white for mysterious garments grouped under the heading of breeches and *langellae*.[1] Of course there were odd items for cutting out the clothes (they cost 11*s.* to make up), for mending, even for washing them, and an occasional entry for towels and socks.[2] Lastly, there is a quaint detail which adds a finish to the picture of mediaeval Dominican dress. When Winterbourne journeyed to Scotland he found that the way was long and, more especially on account of his shaven crown, that the wind was cold, so he spent 1*s.* 6*d.* on the purchase of a cap.[3] This was evidently in the shop of a canny Scot, for in 1306 Luke de Woodford bought two caps in England for 2*s.* 2*d.* the lot.[4]

So far as lodging was concerned, the King's confessor ordinarily lodged in the royal palace. But occasionally it was not so. When His Majesty was away from home, whether on affairs of war or peace, his chaplain went with him, but could not always find room for himself in the same abode. However, there are sufficient accounts left to enable us to reconstruct in imagination what their house would, in these circumstances, be like. Take, for example, a bill in the name of Luke de Woodford, at the end of November 1306.[5] Three years previously Walter de Winterbourne had paid 10*d.* for getting a house ready, but De Woodford's establishment was much more elaborate. It was built of timber; and for this, as being probably from the King's forests, he has nothing to pay, except the carriage. This came to 7*d.* Then the chamber and a yard outside it were built up, wattled all round for 10*d.* The size of the place must have been really quite large, for the roofing of it, though only costing 8*d.*, took three assistants, together with the master-roofer, four days of hard work.[6] Then "daubers" appear on the scene, who work for four days, then six journeymen putting in two days more. The payment for all this daubing came rather expensively to 4*s.* After that men were called in to make windows and doors, adding a further sum of 9*s.* Boarding and nails at the end of the bill bring up the amount to 9*s.* 7*d.*,

[1] *Antiquary*, 1890, p. 119. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 117. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 119. [5] *Ibid.*
[6] The King ordered the Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1270 to build a house of 24 ft. long and 12 ft. wide for the Dominicans who were to stay near him at Clarendon. His own hunting box there was only 30 ft. by 12 ft.

which is pretty cheap considering that the house had to accommodate the confessor, his companion, and their boy.

Inside, the walls were lined with tapestries, as we learn from other bills scattered up and down the centuries.[1] In the corner was the confessor's bed (his companion's bed is never mentioned) on which were mattresses, blankets, and counterpanes, and it was screened off by curtains, 14*s.* having been paid for two red serges for that purpose.[2] If the father confessor was anything like the gentry of his own time, his bed would have been as important by day as it was by night. Witness one of the Paston letters (No. 283), "written in my sleeping time at afternoon at Whitsuntide."

Besides this, there was a chapel close at hand. Richard II used to say the Divine Office according to the Dominican rite; and in 1395 Boniface IX granted leave to all clerics saying it with him to continue it for two months, if temporarily absent. There are scattered items of altar coverings "above and below," candles, casks and pipes of wine, a missal, and other appurtenances for saying Mass.[3]

The royal gift of the missal is rather interesting, as it shows us the hand to mouth existence of the King's household. It was presented on 29 October 1289 to Walter de Winterbourne, but the Clerk of the Wardrobe notes that it had been promised at Beleyard quite a year before. The reason for this delay is that Edward I is only just now able to pay for it, as at last he has got 60*s.* in his exchequer.[4]

In contrast to the poverty of his royal penitent, we find one confessor actually lending money to a Scottish Queen,[5] who, however, did not see fit to repay him; another to the Archbishop of Canterbury,[6] while a third is plundered by freebooters[7] at Portsmouth, two royal officers being sent after the robbers, who, no doubt, thought they were acting in the highest interests of religious observance. But this is a digression.

After the house and chapel of the royal confessor comes the kitchen, "church and kitchen, bell-house and burghgate." The evidence of the existence of this is, first of all, the names mentioned of several of the cooks. One, Thomas, seems to have been quite important. Through him the royal pension was occasionally sent to the confessor.[8] Another, William de Standone or de North, must have been an extravagant gallant, for he has left behind very many bills for new clothes.[9]

We have no record of the menu nor of the success of the cooking, beyond, in 1239, "three courses of dishes and good

[1] *Antiquary*, 1890, p. 118. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 159. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 264.
[4] P.R.O. *R. Elemos. R.*, 17-18 Edw. I.
[5] *Antiquary*, 1890, p. 264. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 116. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 263.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 117. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

wine."[1] The only other items which seem to be connected with the cuisine refer to the purchase of a brass pot and six silver spoons.[2] This seems to be rather a limited stock of utensils, but agrees with the well-known monastic taste for simple diet.

Even after they have retired from the arduous work of directing the royal conscience, these Dominicans were not forgotten by their penitents. Luke de Woodford, first in the priory at London, later in the priory at King's Langley, got a retiring pension of £10 a year.[3] John Burghill, who had been promoted to the Bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, was presented with two pipes of wine a year, only discontinued after the deposition and death of his sovereign, Richard II.[4] Even Bishop Rushook, banished to Cork for his defence of the same unhappy monarch, was allowed by Henry IV the sum of £40 a year. He had been permitted to take with him to Ireland "one bed, clothing, a book for saying his Hours, and two English servants."[5]

Even when the royal confessors have been stricken by Great Death they are still remembered by these Plantagenets. For instance, Edward II, the most affectionate of kings, grateful himself to others, though few were found in his day of trial grateful to him, remembers, even in death, John of Warfield, the first prior of his generous foundation at King's Langley. It was here that Edward had raised the most glorious friary in all England to the memory of his murdered friend, Piers Gaveston. To-day there remains of it hardly one stone upon a stone. But of old it was one of the most magnificent religious houses within our four seas. Of this John of Warfield had been nominated first prior. Subsequently he became the King's confessor, though he did not live to hold that office for more than a year. Edward, however, on 25 June 1316, provided "against his funeral at King's Langley, £6 0*s.* 18*d.*" for wax and other like expenses.[6]

Finally, we can pass from life and death and burial of the royal confessor to his last will and testament. Perhaps it appears strange to find a poor friar able to bequeath his effects. But, of course, this could only occur by permission of the Holy See, and then usually in the case of prelates alone. At any rate, the few wills that remain are precisely those of the Dominican royal chaplains who became bishops. Of these the most interesting, certainly the most amusing, is that of Alexander Bache, consecrated in 1390 Lord Bishop of S. Asaph. Here the horse plays the same important rôle it has always played in the annals of these friar preachers. The will runs as follows:

[1] P.R.O. *R. de L.*, 23 Hen. III, m. 3.
[2] *Antiquary*, 1890, pp. 120 and 264.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 25.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 265.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

"In the name of the High and Undivided Trinity. Amen. The death-bringing fall of our first father, Adam, who exchanged his state of innocency and immortality for a hapless mortality, has passed on his sad fate to his children, who must one and all be infected with the taint of original sin, which is death. This revolving in my mind, I, Alexander, Bishop of St. Asaph's and confessor of my lord the King, in the enjoyment of full memory, proceed to make my testament in this wise:

"First I bequeath my soul to God, and to St. Asaph, His ever glorious confessor, and to all the saints, and my body to be buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers of Hereford in whatsoever place it seemeth good to them. Also to Sir John Graunger, twenty marks sterling and the black horse on which I am most wont to ride. Also to Griffin Percyvale, my groom of the chamber, ten marks sterling and the best that he chooses among all my carriage horses. To John Crawley, my barber, five marks and whatsoever horse my executors think fit. To William Ravening forty pounds sterling and the horse which he is wont to ride. To the three several boys of my stable, each 13*s.* 4*d.* To Jim, my messenger boy, forty pounds sterling and the horse he generally uses.

"Also I leave a garment, parti-coloured blue and red, woven of cloth-of-gold, that lies in my chamber in London, to the Convent of Friars Preachers at Hereford.[1] Also to the Convent of Friars Preachers in London 20*s.* Also to the Convent of Preachers at Hereford 40*s.* Also I will that my hostel at Lynehost, near London, in Farbor Lane, be sold, and the money distributed for my soul's benefit according to the discretion of my executors. Also to Friar Thomas Castle ten marks. In order that they may faithfully execute my will, I name as executors, John Prophet, my kinsman, Friar William Seward, John Graunger, my chaplain aforesaid. By whose witness I append my seal at Clatford, the thirteenth day of the month of August, one thousand three hundred and ninety-four, the fifth year of our episcopal consecration."[2]

The Notary of Probate at Canterbury adds that: "In the memory of man the custom is peaceably and continually observed, rightly and lawfully prescribed, whereby the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being receiveth from the effects of each Bishop of St. Asaph, who sleepeth in the Lord, his pontifical ring, his best oblong seal, his best palfrey, riding-cloak, saddle, bridle, and buskins which the aforesaid Bishop hath himself used—wherefore these, all and every, belonging to the above-mentioned Lord Alexander, Bishop of

[1] In 1399 Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded the bishops of regular clergy to appear in Parliament dressed in their religious habits and not in costume of secular bishops.

[2] Willis, *Survey of S. Asaph's*, p. 211, and Wills, P.C.C., 33 Rous.

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St. Asaph, lately deceased, were received by the most reverend father in Christ, my Lord Archbishop that now is."

But it cannot be said that all these royal confessors and ambassadors behaved quite as properly as they should have done. Nicholas of Wisbeach was at one time a person of some standing, a Dominican friar in whom Edward II put very great trust. As late as 1318 he was considered fit enough to be sent by the King to the Duke of Brabant to bring back a gold cross and some jewels which Edward, his father, had lent (pawned?) to John, late Duke of Brabant, and which were required for the coronation. The letters of recommendation to the Provincial of France or to Bernard Guidonis speak highly of Wisbeach's character.[1] In February 1319 he returned from the Pope and was then spoken of as "a religious man and our beloved in Christ," for whom the King petitioned the office of Penitentiary.[2] By 8 June there was evidently some suspicion in the royal mind, since in place of Nicholas, "now no longer worthy," the name of John of Wrotham is asked for as Papal Penitentiary.[3] On 28 April 1320 reports began to arrive which Edward could not discredit, though he does not directly affirm their truth.[4] "It is said" is the farthest that the kindly King will go. Alas! for human curiosity, we have no knowledge of what "they said."

Another friar whose name figures in writs and royal letters to sheriffs is Thomas Dunheved of the Blackfriars, London. His story as far as can be ascertained is somehow connected with contemporary politics, though the tangle of parts is disconcerting. In 1323 he went over sea on the king's affairs.[5] As early as 1325 he was spoken of by the younger Despenser as being at the Roman Court in order to procure a divorce for Edward II from his Queen.[6] Here he was clearly on the royal side just at the beginning of the final rebellion in which the luckless young king went down. The Lanercost Chronicle speaks of the friar as a "religious acting irreligiously," and couples with him on this errand Robert Baldock who certainly belonged to the royal party. But in 1326 the King wrote a long letter to the Pope, begging him not to receive Thomas Dunheved as his messenger.[7] Friar Thomas had gone about declaring himself to be the Pope's chaplain, had withdrawn from the discipline of the Order, and had left the kingdom without leave; hence the Master-General was asked to chastise him in Rome. Moreover, it is declared that, no doubt as appertaining to his supposed Papal office, Thomas habitually

[1] P.R.O. *R. R. et F.*, 11-14 Edw. II, m. 13 dorso.
[2] *Ibid.*, m. 9 dorso.
[3] *Ibid.*, m. 8 dorso.
[4] *Ibid.*, m. 4.
[5] P.R.O. *Lib. de part. expens. foren. C. G. R.*, 17 Edw. II.
[6] *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Maitland Club, 1839), p. 254.
[7] P.R.O. *R. R. et F.*, 19-20 Edw. II, m. 3.

wore a bishop's rochet, rode a horse, frequented the company of seculars, and ate meat and committed several other matters of naughtiness. Horrified at this outrageous conduct the King bade him go to the noviciate house of King's Langley, where he was to submit himself to the strict regular observance there in force; instead of which, however, he fled over sea without leave, pretending to be a royal ambassador, a ruse all the easier of success since he had really been so once. Now this letter it is certain was none of the King's devising, but was clearly an attempt on the part of Mortimer and Queen Isabella to prevent Edward's hastily despatched messenger having any influence in Rome. Somehow by June 1327 he has got back, and together with Stephen Dunheved, John Sabant, and others, was busy making the neighbourhood of Chester the centre of political agitation and organization for the return of Edward II to power. To Mortimer and the Queen this loyal behaviour is described as "homicide, arson, and illegal meetings."[1] Two months later all the sheriffs had a black list sent to them containing the names of some friars (among whom figures Thomas Dunheved), a monk of Hailes, and several others who have attacked Berkeley Castle together with a band of foot and horse that had refused to march against the Scots. This seems certain evidence that Friar Thomas was clearly a warm partisan of Edward II, that princely friend of all Dominicans, and that the supposed royal letter of 1326 was the concoction of Mortimer and the Queen, who in the name of the boy Edward III seized in that year the reins of government.[2] In 1330 on 16 March, Thomas tried to stir up the people to restore Edward II, whom by magic he proved to many people to be still alive. With him were three other Dominicans, John, Edmund, and Richard; the Earl of Kent entirely believed in them, revolted, was caught and beheaded. The friars themselves were captured also and died in prison at Pontefract, Thomas Dunheved being killed in the act of escaping.[3] Up till 1355 there are records of preaching friars still stirring up opposition to Edward III on the plea that Edward II was still alive.[4] After that date there seems to have been no further trouble.

But more important people than poor Thomas Dunheved came to grief. Thomas de Lisle,[5] whose seal attached to a deed executed by him at Downham on 3 February 1352 shows him to have belonged to the great Lisle family, became a Dominican at Cambridge when hardly more than a boy.

[1] P.R.O., *R. P.*, 1 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 14 dorso.
[2] P.R.O. *R. R.*, 1 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 3 dorso. Cf. *E. H. R.*, Jan. 1916, pp. 121 *et seq.*
[3] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 260, 265.
[4] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 29 Edw. III, m. 6 dorso.
[5] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xi, pp. 1222-1224.

After a career of not exceptional brilliance, his aristocratic connections secured for him the diocese of Ely to which he was provided in July 1344. At first his court and whole manner of life was conducted very magnificently, but as he grew accustomed to his position he gradually gave up much of that earlier pomp and circumstance. But he seems to have held very tenaciously by the principles of his Order, and in consequence his episcopal life was embittered by continual struggles. His first public quarrel was with Edward III, who had asked him to consecrate Robert Stretton, who was Bishop Elect of Coventry and Lichfield. The Archbishop of Canterbury was doubtful over the matter, but Bishop de Lisle stoutly refused on the convincing reason that Robert could neither read nor write. The King, whose personal choice Robert Stretton had been, was furious. To his opposition and incitement, the Bishop traced his next trouble which was with Lady Blanche Wake, the granddaughter of Henry III. Her farm at Coln had been burnt down, and the Bishop was accused of having indulged in this petty spite. Indeed, he was convicted in the courts, and though he applied for a writ of attaint, could get no redress. In his own impetuous fashion he boldly interrupted the King in the middle of his hawking, and accused him of having set going the whole affair. Both were very hot, and after much angry talk separated without any benefit to the Bishop. When next Parliament met, and King and Bishop had to see each other, Edward refused to have speech with de Lisle, asserting to his friends that he would have no dealings at all with his opponent till the taunt of royal interference in the Courts had been withdrawn. To the same audience the Bishop declared that he had not meant to imply (though this does seem rather an afterthought) any personal action on the part of the King, but of the King's ministers. Even so Edward was obdurate. Then to make matters worse, one of the Bishop's servants, a Roman, murdered a servant of Lady Wake, and fled to Normandy out of the way of the law. After all that had gone before, suspicion at once pointed to the Bishop for harbouring the criminal and securing his escape, and the mob, furious at the murder of an Englishman by a foreigner, insulted him. By what he held to be a breach of Magna Charta, Bishop de Lisle was summoned to the King's Bench, denied the judgement of his peers, tried by a jury of commoners, declared guilty of aiding and abetting and concealing a murderer, and his temporalities seized. Protesting furiously against this overbearing of canon and common law, Bishop de Lisle appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was thoroughly frightened by the irreconcilable attitude of both parties and thought it safer and more prudent for himself to say nothing. On 19 November 1356

the Bishop, in fear of his own life and evidently not wishing to add another Thomas to the list of martyrs, fled over sea to Bruges and thence to Avignon. After many excommunications had been launched against him, the King at last submitted, but meanwhile the Bishop had died at the Dominican Nunnery of S. Praxedes near Avignon, where he was buried on 23 June 1361.

Bishop John Gilbert, O.P., of Hereford had an even nearer approach to summary execution, for he was one of the thirteen Lords of Parliament appointed to govern the kingdom for the boy king, Richard II. In 1386 he was Lord High Treasurer.[1] On 3 May 1389 Richard ousted this overboard of councillors and took command of government. Bishop John resigned his office and was translated on 5 May to the see of S. David's, but on 20 August was once more back at the Treasury. Many accusations were made against him and Bishop Wykeham the Chancellor, who both again resigned and challenged Parliament to inspect their official work. The Commons asked for a day to discuss the crisis, went through the records of Treasury and Chancellory, and declared the conduct of both irreproachable. Together they re-entered office and suffered no further molestation.

Sometimes the friars acted as chaplains to the nobility. On 28 November 1322 F. Adam Stokes has licence from the Bishop of Winchester to confess the Lisle family.[2] In Leland's *Collectanea*, under 22 March of the same year, occurs the following incident, though the name of the Dominican concerned is not known.[3] It occurred when Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who had led the narrow-minded party of barons in revolt against Edward II, and after some success was finally defeated at Boroughbridge, was captured and condemned to death: "He was caryed, sum throwing Pelottes of Dyrt at hym, and having a Frerer Precher for his Confessor with hym, on to a Hylle with owte the Toune, where he knelid downe toward the Este, on tylle one Hughin de Muston caussid hym to turne his Face towarde Scotlande: wher kneling a Villayne of London cut off his Hedde." Despite his selfish policy and oligarchic, even tyrannic, methods of agitation, Thomas of Lancaster achieved a certain popularity with north country folk, sufficient at least to have gained for him canonization among the people. An office was actually composed in his honour, and the day of his death kept as the feast of a martyr.

Another conspirator, Aumale (whose double dealing and sudden repentance are described by Shakespeare in the

[1] Godwin, *De praesulibus Angliae*, pp. 484, 582, 622.

[2] Baigent, *Register of Rigand de Asserio* (Hampshire Rec. Soc.), An. 1322.

[3] Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. ii, p. 465.

famous scene where York's Duke and Duchess plead against each other to Henry IV), was empowered by the Master-General to take Galfrid Laund as his confessor. The said Friar Galfrid had special permission from Rome, dated 18 October 1398,[1] to act as physician to Aumale and his friends, and to choose his own priory, no doubt so as to be able to follow his patron over the kingdom. In 1346 Friar John of Lincoln, described as being of the household of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, was evidently chaplain to the Earl.[2] For him such an office meant plenty of excitement, since that year he took out royal letters of protection, as he declared that he stood in bodily peril of "rivals," keen competitors for keeping the Earl's conscience. Alexander Bache, whom we have already cited as having been a royal confessor and Bishop of S. Asaph's, had previously been trained for his work by acting as chaplain to John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke.[3] As the said John was one of the greatest blackguards of his time, Friar Bache must have been kept busy. He was with the Earl in Spain when the attempt was made by the English to relieve La Rochelle, and fell a prisoner with him when that relief force was defeated and captured by the French. After a wait of some months, during which time no news reached him, the Earl of Pembroke wrote to Bertrand Duguesclin, who so brilliantly led the French armies, and whose chivalry was as famous as his skill in war, asking to be set free. The Breton leader acted in accordance with his wonted generosity and knightliness by actually himself paying the Earl's ransom and thus freeing his opposing general. Hastings had sufficient appreciation of what had been done to set off for Paris in order to thank Duguesclin in person, but died at Calais in 1376. Hastings had previously made a will on Palm Sunday, 1374, leaving his body to be buried under the high altar of the Dominican priory church at Hereford, to which community Alexander then belonged. The will is witnessed to, among others, by "Friar Alexander Bache, my confessor." Perhaps it will be remembered from an earlier chapter that though John Hastings' body was brought over and buried at Hereford as he had desired, it was eventually disinterred and taken to the Grey Friars in London "to avoid disputes."

Among the private letters of John Prophet, Dean of Hereford, there is one in 1407 written to some unknown "dearest colleague and friend," in which he makes mention of a gift of timber granted at the instance "of our venerable Friar John Montagu, our most beloved of friends."[4] Though

[1] *Regestum B. Raymundi*, Add. MSS., 6716.
[2] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 20 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 28.
[3] *Antiquary*, 1891, p. 24.
[4] Brit. Mus., Harl. MSS., 431, fol. 1, 108b.

not a chaplain or confessor, John Montagu was evidently a charming personality, quite a well known Dominican of his day, and just such a character as had friends everywhere. It was he whom the Provincial Chapter sent to Hereford as regent in 1400, when the Dean petitioned them for a professor since the Dominican studies there had wholly collapsed. The fact that it is the Dean who complains makes it clear that here, as elsewhere, the cathedral theological school, made obligatory in each diocese by General Councils, existed solely within the Dominican priory and was identical with the local Dominican school. But John Montagu, "most beloved of friends," found himself in 1407 prior as well as regent, and wrote a garrulous letter to Bishop Clifford of London to tell him the sad news, lamenting how difficult it was for him to bear all these burdens, so old was he and worn out. Truth to tell, Friar John was really just out to get compliments and got them, for the Bishop wrote back chaffingly to say what he was evidently meant to say, that of course Friar John was not old at all, that the popularity of his lectures at Hereford was part of the London gossip, and that his unanimous election as prior showed at any rate how his brethren loved him. Then after pointing out how the good of the Order was to be preferred to his own natural shrinking from responsibility, Bishop Clifford finished off this compliment by jokingly accusing the good friar of untruthfulness in over-stating his age, and of laziness in trying to get out of the priorship. This genial ecclesiastical banter shows the personal character of the friar and the friendly feeling between him and these Church dignitaries. A second letter from the Bishop of London laments their delay in meeting, and expresses his longing to see again this "most beloved of friars."

As confessors of kings and in one public capacity or another the English Dominicans retained some small direct influence over national affairs; but it is to their indirect influence that their chiefest work was due, for it is at least arguable that the English Parliament in its form and constitution is due to the model of the Dominican Order.[1] Certainly the character which its representative spirit adopted runs parallel in point of time with the evolution of Dominican government. The Spaniards are credited with having, though merely rudimentarily, begun the tradition of calling representatives of the towns into the national assembly, so that it is quite possible that S. Dominic himself may have been preliminarily impressed by the customs of his own country.

Certainly the principle of elective government was the personal contribution of S. Dominic to the constitutional

[1] E. Barker, *Dominican Order and Convocation*, 1913, Oxford.

experiment of government of the Friars Preachers. Each priory has by Dominican law the right to elect its own prior, and the priors in chapter, together with a representative from each community, elected solely and directly for this purpose, have the right to choose the provincial; while the provincials again, with a representative from the Province, elected solely and directly for this purpose, have the right to choose in chapter the Master-General of the whole Order. A few friars, laureated either for professorial or for preaching eminence, are privileged also to attend the Provincial Chapters and to take part in the election, yet on the whole it may be asserted that the principles of representation and elective government are part of the Dominican constitution.

Now the representative system itself was a slow development and came into prominence in the thirteenth century. The Cistercians had inaugurated a government by assemblies from the daughter abbeys, which met at Citeaux, and as such had acted in defiance of the more primitive system of S. Benedict, which supposed the complete autonomy of each several abbey; but the Roman authorities considered that some such assemblies were necessary to keep life even and alert among the Benedictines themselves, and actually insisted on it by a decree of the Council of the Lateran in 1215, in which it was suggested that the White Monks should send an abbot to each chapter of Black Monks in order to initiate them into the working of the system. But it does not appear that very much was done.

S. Dominic, however, was in Rome during the council, and as a familiar friend of many at the Roman Court knew of the ideals and tendencies of Pope Innocent III and his party, and found them coinciding with his temperamental and national prejudices, thereby confirming what must have been till then merely a suggestion. In any case the original notion of a religious Order as world-wide as the Church and wider than the limits of Christendom, and yet governed with a stronger centralized government more intimately and personally in touch with its several units, was made more adventurous but more ideal by basing it on the principles of elective and representative government.

Simultaneously the growth of Parliaments all over Europe which in England and Hungary, owing to a variety of causes, assumed more mature and practical results, coincided in its new richness of experiment with the twin foundations of the Dominican provinces of England and Hungary in 1221, the two foundations made from the final and most developed stage of S. Dominic's theories. Here arrived friars formed in this last school, and at once received with open arms by royal and baronial benefactors. To these were unfolded the aims of this new Order, its work, its motive, its organization.

Henry III and Edward I, Hubert de Burgh and De Montfort, seem to have been in England their best and most munificent patrons, and these four, more than any others, influenced the formation of the English Parliament. Men like John of Darlington were advising the King in his constitutional struggle against the Barons, and De Montfort, who espoused the cause of the Barons, was himself by descent and actual family ties, as well as by personal benefactions, united to the Dominican Order. It is certainly worth noting that the great royal experiment at liberty lasted from Henry III to Richard II, the kings and the only kings who had continuously Dominican confessors.

Yet it is not to be thought that even the Dominican Order itself achieved its actual representative system without passing through all sorts of experiments. The idea first was for each priory to send a prior, but the number of representatives from the community who went along with him to the chapter was varied considerably. It was only in 1265 that the present system was adopted whereby one delegate from the priory accompanies the prior; it was also in 1265 that finally two delegates from the borough as well as from the counties were summoned for De Montfort's Parliament. That date, therefore, synchronizes both in English and in Dominican history with the representation of each unit by two of its members. Was this a mere coincidence, or had it a deeper significance? Without asserting any definite proof, the presumption in favour of Dominican ideals influencing the English statesmen of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I is exceedingly strong, and will have an especially increased force for those historic critics to whom the Crown rather than the Baronage has always represented the liberating force in English politics.

Democratic in principle, aristocratic by connection, the Order of Preaching Friars in its full activity in England, advising, absolving, negotiating, must directly and indirectly be recognized as a powerful influence. Up till now this influence of the English Blackfriars has been wholly ignored.

CHAPTER VII

OBSERVANCE

IN an earlier chapter an attempt was made to describe with some detail the manner of life in an old-time Dominican priory. Obviously all that could be done was to lay down, at least for the most part, the rules and regulations considered of obligation without waiting to notice whether these were really observed or not. As a consequence it must be admitted that the result stood rather in the nature of an ideal than of actual fulfilment. Necessarily this must be so, for it is impossible even in contemporary life to describe the general actions of humanity from their ethical standpoint, since the motive of these actions, which in ethics is of capital importance, is of its nature hidden and elusive. Looking backward, the effect is in some ways made easier in so far as at a distance impressions are simpler, but in others harder in so far as the requisite knowledge to resurrect conditions of past existence is difficult to acquire. Thus it happens that writers steeped in literature of a particular epoch, learned in its customs, acquainted with its highways and by-ways, will differ profoundly in their general judgements. The monastic life of mediaeval England is a fine case in point, since judicious critics quarrel with each other's valuation, and one will assert as typical what is to another abnormal. Impartiality cannot really be achieved in writing since it cannot be present in reading. No historian can dare flatter himself that his judgement is absolute, though the facts he has collated may well exhaust present sources of knowledge. Particularly will this be true of a domestic historian, since he will be influenced as often to underestimate as to overvalue. The ideal and the real! Who shall describe both accurately in himself or in another? To one temperament the proverb may be aptly applied that self-praise is no recommendation; to another the warning may be often needed that no man is a hero to his valet. On the whole it is worse to be too cruel than too kind, since Heine's familiar reproof is most just: "No man is a hero to his own valet, but this is not because the hero is no hero, but because the valet is a valet."

It is usual, as a presumption in favour of the excellence of a society or body, to quote the illustrious people who have willingly joined it; though perhaps this is not quite fair since it is necessary to remember that often it is merely the ideal life and not its actual representatives that have proved most attractive. Men and women join societies and bodies just as frequently for their ideal purposes as for the successful realization of these by the actual members. Certainly all through the history of the English Province men of eminence con-

tinued to enter its ranks. Bishop Walter Mauclerk[1] of Carlisle and the Abbot of Walden, both in the thirteenth century and within twenty years of the arrival of the Preaching Friars, put on the white habit of S. Dominic, though Matthew Paris, with his monkish disdain and his journalistic delight in gossip, supplies as their motives for this that the Bishop had fallen foul of Court favour and the Abbot fled from the piled-up debts he had accumulated. Though not actual members of the Province, both S. Richard Wyche, Bishop of Chichester, and Ralph of Maidstone, Bishop of Hereford (1234), had vowed to become Dominicans and were counted as Preaching Friars. Probably in modern terminology they would to-day be spoken of as Tertiaries. Then others, some of them of curious antecedents yet well-known characters in their day, joined the Province. Bartholomew, a natural son of King John, was an English Dominican, though nothing is known of him beyond papal bulls permitting him to accept a bishopric (despite his bar sinister), and nominating him the Pope's chaplain. These speak of his worth, learning, and piety, but as they also describe his father as of "illustrious memory," it is rather difficult to put much faith in them.[2] Geoffrey of Gerville, uncle of Joan, the wife of Roger Mortimer, first Earl of March, handed over his estates to his nephew-by-marriage and became a Dominican. But of him again nothing else hardly seems known.[3] Again Humphrey, fourth Earl of Hereford, whose wife was Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Edward I (the widow of John, Earl of Holland), is described as a Dominican, but the only justification for this seems to be his burial among the Blackfriars of York.[4] Robert Holcot, a famous Dominican preacher, and professor both at Oxford and Cambridge, was a lawyer of some eminence before he exchanged for white wool his whiter ermine; and among the titled friars of the Province was Sir Robert Erpingham, whose family so magnificently benefited the priory of Norwich,[5] and Sir Henry Arnold of Dunwich.[6]

Yet even had these friars, for their contemporaries distinguished and illustrious, been more numerous and of greater fame, the list of them would be of comparative unimportance, since from it no convincing proof could be gathered in favour of the Province. Moreover, it is patent to anyone who possesses the least knowledge of mediaeval English literature that the friars as a whole were not popular. Chaucer represents perhaps humour even more than truth, and

[1] Mat. Paris, vol. iii, p. 564; vol. iv, pp. 163, 164.
[2] *Bull.*, vol. i, pp. 220, 234, 253.
[3] *Dict. N. B.*, vol. xxxix, p. 136.
[4] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 1881, p. 20.
[5] *Reliquary*, 1888, p. 211. [6] *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 211.

picks his characters to suit this dominant motive. Wycliffe, again, is prejudiced at least towards the end of his life, though earlier his respect and admiration for the Franciscans are charmingly expressed, and even later his imitation of their ideals, practices, and habit may justly be taken as sincerest flattery. The indictment of monkish historians equally may be explained away on the count of jealousy, arising from the successful venture of a rival order. But the consensus of all can hardly have been without foundation. To have become so unpopular argues against the friars something more than mere personal antagonism.

Moreover, during the period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries commissions of Oyer and Terminer had to be held to determine the causes and extent of damage done by mob violence to Dominican priories. Not all the priories are mentioned; in fact Boston,[1] Derby,[2] and Warwick[3] are practically the only centres of disturbance; but the results show that even locally opposition to the friars was strong enough at times to get amazingly out of hand. Boston especially was incredibly rowdy; though at first it was only by the haphazard of a wayward wind that the Dominican priory was burnt. Sir Robert Chamberlain was out to rob while the annual fair was being held, and only set fire to the booths so as the more easily in the confusion to make off with his booty to the ships that he had got ready for escape. With true mediaeval irreverence he had dressed his men as Canons Regular and monks, and had sent them thwacking each other down the narrow streets (since brawls between these two Orders were evidently so common as to occasion little suspicion), in and out of the booths and stalls, killing and stealing, and finally setting the whole ablaze. But for all the confusion of it, Sir Robert was captured, confessed, and was hanged. This was in 1288, but the same sort of thing recurs in 1302, 1345, 1379. That is evidence no doubt of the state of the town, where foreign and sailor elements may have contributed a great deal to the want of discipline, and where perhaps the spirit of mischief was ruling, and not a mere anti-clerical mob feeling. Certainly in 1345 the mob was led by John Barrett, the parson of Boston, and Roger of Pikeworth, who is described in the official account as the "Chaplain." Besides material damage to the house to the extent of £100, Friar Simon, O.P., was so terribly belaboured that his life was despaired of. At Derby a year earlier the rioters, who cut down and carried off newly planted trees from the Dominican garden, included two chaplains besides the regular list of shoemakers and sadlers. What can have been the reason for this storied jealousy

[1] *Reliquary*, 1881, pp. 87, 88, 89. [2] *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 19.
[3] *Transactions of Birmingham and Midland Institute*, 1880, p. 7.

between chaplains and friars? No wonder John Langland warns the latter that:

> Unless they and the Church keep closer together
> The most mischief e'er yet will be mounting up fast.

But in 1379 some discontented Dominicans in full habit were themselves among the attacking party. Knowing well their way about, and evidently having old scores to pay off, they climbed the walls and jumping into the garden broke down the doors and crashed through the windows. The prior and most of the good fathers were dozing after their midnight office, so that in bed they were set on, insulted and beaten. The constables tried to resist the furious mob, but their efforts were only finally successful by the time most of whatever valuables there were in the priory had been seized and carted off. That these things should have happened time and time again points to the unpopularity of the friars, at least in certain localities. Even at King's Langley, where the friars must have been the real Lords of the Manor, strife occurs, though it is almost humorous to note that Guy Ducheman bringing his action in the court leet against Roger, the prior's servant, especially accuses him of striking and wounding and ill-treating him with *a stick of no value.* To be hit by the prior's servant with a stick of no value was surely insult and injury indeed, and not to be borne.[1]

Again, another symptom of failure was the persistent royal precept to sheriffs to arrest and restrain "apostates." An apostate was not necessarily one who had renounced his faith, but merely a friar who after having passed his first year in the Order had been professed solemnly, and then had thrown off his habit, or even still in his Dominican garb bolted out of his priory without permission, restless souls in large numbers at times, tired of discipline, or personally antagonistic to the actual superior, finding religious life insupportable, and having no profession or work to which they could settle. Even the preaching and begging life itself made some feel too straitly the restrictions of conventual life. One shrewd critic thus justifies his position canonically:

> Out of the Order thereof I begone
> Apostata neer am I none,—
> Of twelves monthes me wanted one
> And odd days nine or ten—
> Away to wend I made me bown
> E'er time came of profession
> I went my way through all the town
> In sight of many men.

He was no "apostate," for he had left the Order before his first year was complete, and had therefore never "made profession" of the religious life.

[1] B.M. Harl. MSS., 6005, fol. 55.

These royal writs and precepts against apostates are very frequent, at least twenty-three being issued against wandering Dominicans between 1240 and 1538. This again, in estimating the spiritual value of the English Province, cannot be ignored as a symptom of the want of observance of the Dominican ideals. Dissatisfaction is far more often occasioned among religious by the absence of strict life than by an excess of it, though both extremes are obviously pernicious. Sometimes the writ or precept will vaguely hint, sometimes definitely state, more often be wholly silent about the cause of apostasy. Public money has been stolen from the Exeter priory, and a friar has disappeared. Apostasy is here definitely linked to crime.[1] As a matter of fact in this particular case there was no apostasy at all, for the culprit had been carefully put in the priory prison by the prior who pretended (to save him from a worse fate) that he could not be found. Three priors of Exeter in succession were implicated in this fraud, but at the instance of the provincial, Robert Bromyard, and of Hugh of Manchester, they received in 1305 Edward's royal pardon.[2] What fate befell Stephen of Exeter, O.P., after his eight years in prison, no entry in the royal books yet records. Hugh Lea of London, another O.P. apostate, was merely technically so; he was trying to make a pilgrimage to Compostella, but getting no leave from anyone, was starting out on his own sole authority. Royal officials pounced on him, and sequestered his books and money, but were made to disgorge their booty in 1381.[3] In 1396 another apostate, by name John Edmunton of London, was to be arrested that he might answer for himself before the Council and the Chancellor; he was said to be a messenger from the Master-General, but was strongly suspected by the Court of being a spy.[4] In 1400 John Ketylby was removed from imprisonment at Oxford to London, where the friars once more placed him in their custody.[5] He, too, is spoken of as an apostate. Usually the writs and royal precepts are more general, and imply the existence of a wandering band of friars without licence or authority or purpose, begging, and occasionally no doubt throwing their eloquence and priestly influence into any local upheaval or revolt which momentarily gave them opportunity for mischief. Thus the spirit of disturbance was kept alive and active. Political agitators found them useful and drew into their camp some prominent friar. Usually, owing to their general devotion to the royal cause, the Dominicans are found in support of dispossessed kings, and the entries about 1327 and 1399 are exceptionally heavy with notices of imprisonment, a testi-

[1] *Reliquary*, 1886, p. 255. [2] *Ibid.* [3] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 4 Rich. II, m. 18.
[4] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 20 Rich. II, m. 28 dorso.
[5] P.R.O. *R. de L.*, 9 Edw. III, m. 8.

mony at least to the gratitude, if not to the wisdom, of the Province.

But the fullest story of all centres round 1314.[1] Murimuth, in his Chronicle, reports that while the General Chapter sat that year in London a long list of accusations against the Order was affixed one night to the doors of S. Paul's. That was on 26 May. A royal precept to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire on 1 October following, mentions a band of wandering friars who, by means of pamphlets and public notices, were doing their best to arouse mob violence against the English Dominicans. From an earlier writ of 18 September, issued to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City, and a third issued to all the sheriffs of the kingdom, dated 21 September, we find that some of the band still retained their habits, while others had changed into lay attire. Moreover, the name of their leader is given, Friar Simon of Sydolvesmere. We can even dig out a catalogue of the enormities with which this band charged the responsible rulers of the Province, and which, indeed, was sufficiently grave and serious to have required some sort of commission of inquiry. None seems to have been held, though the Master-General, the Chapter, and the Provincial were all advertised of the facts, and the Pope, the Primate, and the King received letters of appeal. The only possible solution is that the characters of Simon and his hundred (such is the number he claims) friars were considered sufficient to nullify any amount of accusations and affidavits, for the accusations are so horrible that their only parallel in black wickedness is the equally unjustifiable charges against the Knights Templars almost at the same date. These charges may be summarized in form:

(1) That the friars in prison were persecuted till they had become mad or were even driven to suicide or actually killed. Did this last happen, lest coroners might be introduced and the sad state of the confined friars be discovered, false bodies were made, their approaching end was lyingly noised abroad, and to keep up the pretence the regular processions took place with litanies and psalms sung, candles carried, and even the Blessed Sacrament borne, though all the while the supposed sick were actually dead.

(2) That the sanitary conditions of the dungeons were absolutely fatal to human life.

(3) That nothing was done at all for those that fell sick, though the Constitutions were always clear on the necessity of looking after everyone who was ill.

(4) That when the imprisoned were penitent and demanded

[1] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 8 Edw. II, p. 1, m. 22, m. 21, m. 7; B.M. Add. MSS., 5444, fol. 223; *Chronicon of Murimuth* (E. H. S.), p. 22.

forgiveness, the Sacraments, at least the Holy Eucharist, were denied them, and no breviary was permitted, so that the consolations and even obligations of the religious state found no entrance behind the cell doors.

It seems more frank to give absolutely the accusations made, so as to show wherein religious life may be said to have failed among the English Dominicans, though, of course, at this distance of time it is impossible to pretend to sift out the evidence for and against the responsible authorities. But it is necessary to note that no voice is lifted against the system, nor is it contended that anyone was unjustly imprisoned, nor that the conventual prison should be discarded. The charges, though horrible to read even after this distance of time, attack the mere administration of a system against which no one contended. Even these charges evoke no sympathy from King or Pope, or Primate or Master, or Chapter or Provincial, and this must suppose some inherent defect in the presentment of the case. Appeals here could not have been ignored in this matter because of the want of gravity in the charge, only, therefore, because of the untrustworthiness of the evidence. But it seems clear that in this case the evidence was not sifted, only the character of the witness taken into account.

William of Hassefield, apostate, was imprisoned by the Constable in Gloucester, but when attempts were made to transfer him, as Canon Law required, to the custody of the friars, since no secular court had jurisdiction over spiritual persons, the mob threatened to break into the priory and rescue him. Here again we have no clue to the reason for William's popularity. The date was 1338, the neighbourhood, Berkeley Castle. Was this another effort on the part of the Dominicans to set up again their dear Edward II, whom not even yet could the people believe to have been done to death?[1] Edward II had sent to the Pope in 1318 another friar, William of Brotherton, who was intensely worried over some irregularity committed when he was still a boy.[2] The King's letter accompanying the friar is vigorously human and friendly, leaving to an actual interview the specification of the thing done. No wonder apostates and penitents as well as officials of the Province cherished the memory of the poor dead King.

But there were many conditions which went to make the strict observance of religious life a very difficult thing. Sometimes the King would lodge with the friars, as at Newcastle in 1335[3] or Stamford in 1332, sometimes Parliament met within the walls, as at Oxford in 1258 or Cambridge in 1388. The royal exchequer paid well for these interruptions, but the

[1] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 12 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 12 dorso.
[2] P.R.O. *R. R. et F.*, 11-14 Edw. II, m. 11 dorso.
[3] P.R.O. *R. E. S. Pasch.*, 6 Edw. III, m. 4; B.M. *Cotton Nero*, viii; *L. G.*, 8, 9, 10, 11 Edw. III.

very sums expended for "damages" done by Court and Commons are evidence of the grave interference that must have taken place in the cloistral peace and quiet. The Queen of Edward IV stayed at Shrewsbury in the guest apartments long enough to give birth to two of her children; those months meant a retinue, none too well ordered, for whose evil behaviour the King was bound to pay. Even wool was stored in the priory at Derby and allowed by the receiver to rot; no very pleasant intimate neighbour in its decaying state for the poor friars. Charters and records were handed to the religious to guard, who were heavily dealt with did anything untoward befall. Sir William Bagot graciously admitted himself satisfied when Richard Runcorn, Prior of Chester,[1] was put in prison for refusing to surrender a chest committed to him, which contained charters touching Sir William's heritage. In 1442 Sir Simon Felbrigge leaves his bed of silk, red and white, to Thomas Pendall when the said Thomas shall have come of age; "in the meantime the aforesaid bed is to be kept by my executors in the house of the Friars Preachers of Norwich."[2] Now really imagine religious life lived in such difficult conditions. Not only may kings and Parliament come with all their rout and settle for days and weeks within the limits of the monastery, not only are charters and documents stored there, but anyone apparently without a by-your-leave can dump wool down in your storerooms till it rots, or bequeath beds to be left under your roof till little boys come of age. Then after all these multiplied vexations, when the friars break out to secluded spots and take over country livings in order to secure peace and quiet, or endeavour to rouse the peasantry for some political ideal or even intrigue, then any poet or preacher of heresy or gossiping monastic chronicler solemnly takes up the burden of remonstrance and insists on the importance of religious life.

Then the King complains because he cannot get the English friars to accept endowments as contrary to their ideals of poverty, so Edward II writes to the Pope for a dispensation in the matter for his priory of King's Langley, adducing as his reason that the community there never has enough to eat.[3] They beg for food, and Chaucer scorns them for their wandering lives, and Fitz-Ralph denounces them as "sturdy beggars." It is probably true that in fact it was the necessity for begging that most broke up their discipline and ruined the cloistral peace of many an ordinary soul; but the necessity was inspired by a noble ideal, to lower which seemed like apostasy. Their food, indeed, could not have been a matter of much reproach, for their presents from the King and other benefactors are chiefly pike and herrings and "graytes of figs."

[1] *Reliquary*, 1882, p. 100. [2] Wills, P.C.C., 14 Rous.
[3] *Reliquary*, 1878, p. 38.

In 1374 they are allowed by Papal dispensation, when at the houses of seculars, to take meat, "lest they become a burden to their hosts,"[1] though there is no single allusion in all the extant documents, neither in the progresses of royal confessors, nor in the list of pittances sent in, nor in the wills of munificent friends of any gift of meat or game. Wine came their way, since wine was required for altar as well as for table; but the evidence at present procurable, admittedly fragmentary as it is, nowhere bears out any such charge of greed. Even the presents they give to the King are chiefly apples and pears from Chelmsford and Norwich, and beer from King's Langley.

Poverty seems on the whole to have been observed, since Edward II protested to the Pope against the strict, even narrow, interpretation put on their vows by the friars of King's Langley. Indeed, to others than to Edward, to critics as well as benefactors, it was poverty itself, and still more the begging which it necessitated, that caused a decline in the vigour and efficiency of the Order. The wandering life led to restlessness, to slipshod, untidy habits of thought, to the relaxation of conventual discipline. The priory at Canterbury quite early on in the story of the Province became burdened with debts, which, while harassing the existence of the friars, forced them to perpetual brooding upon the importance of wealth, a fixed idea which does not tend to elevation of thought. In 1373, on 30 October, a royal decree absolved the Dominican Prior of Stamford from all writs of restraint and debt against him, as these had been contracted by his community without his leave or knowledge.[2] There was, indeed, just one occasion when the friars did attempt to make a little money, but this only provoked the fury of the King. Edward III gave the Dominicans of Northampton some houses adjoining their priory in order to enlarge their buildings. These, however, they promptly let out to tenants. Edward was furious, and took them back into his own hands, restoring them, however, in 1358 on condition that the land was used solely for the purpose he had intended and was not let out on lease.[3]

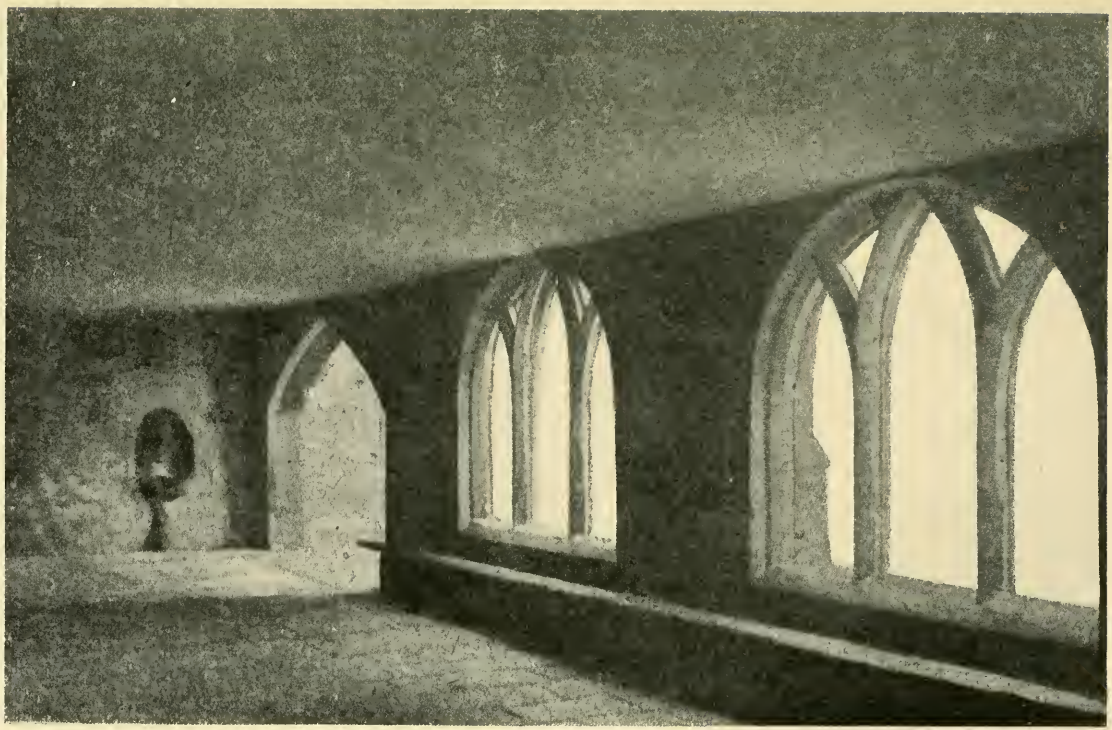
Whatever may have been their lack of popularity among the people, the English Dominicans have no record of cruelty or inquisitorial tortures against them, but rather all through their history they intervened in favour of those already condemned to the extreme penalty of the law. Even in 1236 a murderer, William Ruffo,[4] who had caused the death of Gilbert Monser, and having fled had been sentenced as an outlaw, was declared free from molestation as in the mean-

[1] Leland, vol. ii, p. 308.
[2] *Reliquary*, 1881, p. 138.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1880, pp. 27, 28.
[4] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 20 Hen. III, m. 10.

while he had become a Dominican. Murderers, indeed, seem to have developed an instinctive devotion to the children of S. Dominic, or else the children of S. Dominic took upon themselves the task of interceding for murderers. At the instance of the friars of Oxford, John Preston and Walter of Essenden were pardoned for outlawry in 1264;[1] Gerard Troffin of Ypres and Peter Fauconberg of St. Omer, for the murder of Robert Thorold of Lynn were pardoned at the instance of John of Darlington in 1266;[2] at the instance of Thomas Blundel, O.P., Galfrid was pardoned for the murder of John le Brateur in 1265.[3] At the instance of William of Southampton, Provincial of the English Dominicans, in 1278[4] and of Richard Winckley, O.P., in 1347[5] other pardons were granted, and a friar himself, Philip of Bodnolagh, was pardoned in 1279[6] for some injury he had done to Richard Nonon of Treleysech.

However, on 6 January 1318,[7] five friars of Salisbury (John of Mulford, Will of Halmerton, John of Bachampton, Francis Aubyn, John of Styntesford) themselves needed and received pardon for rescuing *vi et armis* John Fitzwilliam, who was on his way to be hung for felony. They overset the guard, cut the rope, and set him free. In 1327 again John of Stoke, a Warwick Dominican,[8] is to be pursued by the royal sheriff for his delinquencies, and if captured to be carried before the King. The date is ominous, recording the last turmoils that surround the tragedy of Edward II. The next civil war finds friars again interested in distressed monarchs, and John Gaseley, O.P.,[9] figures in a list issued by Edward IV in 1471 of proscribed rebels, supporters of Henry VI. Queen Margaret heads the roll, and Friar John almost ends it. In 1494[10] there was a famous conspiracy that goes under the name of its leader, Sir William Stanley. Among the leading members of it, Hall in his Chronicle notes: "Certain priests and religious men as Sir William Rochford, doctor of divinity, and Sir Thomas Poynes, both Friars of S. Dominick's Order." While the London Chronicle under date of the same year states that "the 29th day of January was kept at the Guildhall an *oyer determiner* which lasted iij days where . . . were adjudged to be drawn, hanged, heded, and quartered iij spiritualmen, that is to say, the Dean of Paul's, the Provincial of the

[1] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 48 Hen. III, m. 17.
[2] *Ibid.*, 41 Hen. III, War. and Leic.
[3] *Ibid.*, 49 Hen. III, m. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, 6 Edw. I, m. 11.
[5] P.R.O. *R. Cart. et P. apud Cales*, 21 Edw. III, m. 22.
[6] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 7 Edw. I, m. 9.
[7] *Ibid.*, 11 Edw. II, p. 1, m. 6.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 24.
[9] P.R.O. *Durham Chancery Rolls*, No. 49 (Bp. Booth), m. 4.
[10] B.M. Cotton MSS., Vitellius *A*, vol. xvi, fol. 152.



THE CLOISTERS: DOMINICAN PRIORY, BRISTOL

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Blackfriars, a noble divine and famous preacher, and the Prior of a house of the Blackfriars called Langley." Hall adds further that the priests were pardoned. So frequent became these interventions and so successful, in favour of outlaws, murderers, and Jews (the last of which brought them to starvation in one place as their defence of these hapless folk was locally unpopular), that at last the Master-General was moved to indignation and solemnly forbade in 1398[1] any attempts of the English friars to obtain favours for criminals. And certainly after that date no other cases occur.

It will, however, be seen that on the whole the friars were not unworthy of their high calling. Right at the beginning of the Black Death we find the city of London asking for Dominicans to be its official guides in its spiritual life. A petition still remains, dated 2 April 1350,[2] which alludes to the ravages made in the city by the plague. So many of the citizens had perished, and so many of the priests had been struck down by it, that there was a grave dread in the city, for men knew not where to turn for the help their souls needed. In this plight the Mayor and citizens wrote to the Pope. They asked that a certain well-known Dominican, by name John of Worthyn, should be given faculties to absolve them in all their troubles. Just one extract shall be quoted as it shows the reverence inspired not for this one friar only, but for the London community. "With one accord therefore," says this document, "with weeping eyes does your congregation here entreat the most exalted highness of Your Holiness, that the same Your Holiness will deign graciously to grant unto the venerable and religious man, Friar John de Worthyn, your Chaplain, a man of honour and approved life, of manners and of learning, sprung from the high blood of our realm who alone of all others strengthens us with the Word of Christ, and with whom, as we believe, nothing is wanting that could add to our profit, that in every case (as well cases reserved as others—unless the enormity of the offence be such that Your Holiness should of necessity have to be consulted thereon), he and he only within our City may be able to absolve our people, being penitent. . . . And further, if Your Holiness might incline thereto, that in case the same Friar John should depart this life, the Prior of the Convent of the Order of Preachers in London, with the counsel and assent of the Mayor of the City, might be enabled to appoint a friar of the same Order—that would be at once to us a fulfilment of our wishes."

Now this must be placed opposite the wit of Chaucer, the sneers of Wycliffe, the criticism of the monks, when final

[1] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 22 Rich. II, p. 1, m. 35.
[2] Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life*, p. 251.

judgement is made by history on the character of the English Province. Even the Black Death did not wholly dissipate its strength. In food, in discipline, in poverty, we have already cited sufficiently to prove that nothing flagrant in any extant record appears. Even the official accounts for the expenditure of the royal confessors contain nothing bought or demanded contrary to the rule or constitutions. That surely is remarkable. At a time of great relaxation on the Continent, these religious out of their priories and away from the supervision of superiors or the conventions engendered by community life, journeying either with the King or on the King's affairs, made no attempt to act contrary to the regulations of their Order. At other times it would not be matter for remark, but at this period when it is confessed on all sides that discipline abroad was very much neglected in these things (witness the evidence of S. Catherine of Siena, B. Raymund of Capua, etc.), it is good to find that the English Province still practised the strict observance of its rule. Even the saying of the Divine Office, though at first (to judge from the stories of the English friars who in the *Vitae Fratrum* are perpetually being upbraided by Our Lady for their excessive speed in saying it) perhaps too briskly recited, was not omitted here, as it is said to have been largely omitted elsewhere. King Richard II, who seems indeed to have been a member of the Third Order, received on 8 September 1395 a papal privilege in answer to a request which he had addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff. On that day, Pope Boniface IX granted both to the King and to all clerics in attendance at Court, licence to say the Divine Office according to the Dominican use which the Pope learns from the royal petition to be somewhat different from the Roman rite. Even those absent from Court for not more than two months could continue the same practice. The King is noted himself as using this manner of prayer.[1]

Now although this fact cannot rigorously be urged as a proof that the English friars themselves said their Office devoutly, yet it is not wholly a matter of special pleading to assert that it would not be likely for the King to have such a regard for the Dominican form of the Breviary unless he had known it from experience to be a thing of beauty, or been taught so by his confessor. In either case the fact that he did make use of it, and that it was said by himself and all the Court, shows that there was a love for the Dominican Office at the royal Court fostered by the friars in attendance.

Further, the same impression of endeavour to live up to a high ideal is made for that date at least, when we find that Robert of Formial in 1245 had papal leave to become an Augustinian as the Dominican life was far too severe for him.[2]

[1] *Bull.*, vol. ii, p. 352.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 145.

But in 1374 begins a struggle which has been fastened on by certain French historians of the Order of Preachers[1] as implying a revolt among the English friars against central authority, a desire among them to strike out a new line for themselves, a separatist tendency, a determination to show that Englishmen were different from the rest of the world and required special legislation. As a matter of fact, the controversy reveals that the English friars had a greater regard for the observance of the rule than was perhaps to be found elsewhere.

An attempt was made at reform by the friars abroad, under the leadership of B. Raymund of Capua, the confessor of S. Catherine, who had been elected to the Master-Generalship of that portion of the Order which remained faithful to the obedience of the Roman line of Pontiffs. Raymund was elected in the very year of his friend's death, 1380. At once he began to agitate for his reform. The plan that seemed to him the most feasible was to establish in each province one house of what was called strict observance. That is, he set up everywhere he could priories where the absolute letter of the Dominican constitution was to be carried into effect. There was to be no compulsion used to make people enter into these particular monasteries. In fact, the idea was to attract to them only just those who had themselves the same drawing to the stricter life that consumed the soul of Raymund. By this means the Saint hoped gradually to set such a pattern up before the Order as should compel the others, by the very beauty of this the older form of the Dominican life, to give their consent to the reform being extended to the whole Order. But of course, the trouble was to keep such houses up to their original standard—to prevent their sinking back to their old level. To accomplish this, it was decreed that no one was to be sent elsewhere who wished to live after this fashion. Each had the right to choose this form of religious life, and to remain always in this higher atmosphere. Moreover, lest the unfervent should be placed in authority over these houses and endeavour to interfere with the established discipline, it was further decreed that these priories were to be directly under the General, or some vicar appointed by him, and not to be connected with the local provincial. This, which was looked on as the safeguard of the newer observance, ultimately proved its ruin, but for the moment it prevailed.

The story can be begun by noting a royal decree that the Chancellor of the University of Oxford was ordered by the King, Edward III, in 1369, to issue a proclamation to be published at Carfax whereby all foreign students, religious and

[1] Mortier, vol. iii, pp. 648-67.

secular, were to be expelled from Oxford.[1] This general order was probably a political move, for Edward was in the throes of his French war, and had no intention of allowing an organized spy system to exist within his borders. At once rebellion broke out in the Dominican priory. Seventeen students, English as well as foreign, revolted, seized the convent, and by armed resistance prevented the Provincial and the local superior from entering the building. The gallant band was headed by John of Chesham, who later, as a solemn and dignified Master of Theology, subscribed a condemnation of the teaching of Wycliffe, and as confessor to Lord S. Amand was bequeathed 20 marks under the will of that nobleman in 1403.[2] On 4 May 1370,[3] a royal mandate to the Sheriff of Oxford, to Master Robert of Sustede, LL.D., the Parson of Willingham, and to John of Watlington, the royal sergeant-at-arms, ordered them to assist the Provincial in securing due obedience and a peaceable entrance into his priory on the island near S. Ebbe's, and into "every house of the same Convent"; evidently it was barricaded from end to end. That this brawl, despite the active participation in it of some of the English Dominican students, was connected with the anti-foreign proclamation at Carfax in the year previous, seems clear from another mandate, 18 October 1373,[4] ordering the Prior of Oxford to remove at once all alien enemies who had come to the convent on the pretence of being Dominicans engaged in study, since their real object was to discover the plans of the King, and to explore the state of the kingdom and to let the King's enemies be acquainted with their information. Hence Edward commands them all to be removed, until they had been examined and licensed. Almost a year later, to be quite accurate on 25 August 1374,[5] another royal mandate was published, addressed to the Provincial of the English friars, forbidding him to accept the great number of foreign friars that had been sent to the Dominican house at Oxford. The King declared therein that these foreigners were a source of very much trouble and disturbance, since they refused to abide by the customs of the house and province, and claimed all sorts of special dispensations. In virtue of his royal authority, Edward III forbade Stephen Coulyng or any other Preaching Friar sent as visitator by the Master-General to make changes in the discipline of the Province, or to punish the English friars who were unjustly supposed to have intrigued at Court

[1] Little, *Greyfriars of Oxford*, p. 86.
[2] Wills, P.C.C., 2 Marche; Nicholas, *Vetusta Testamenta*, vol. i, p. 159.
[3] P.R.O. *R. P.*, 44 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 14 dorso.
[4] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 47 Edw. III, m. 10; Rymer, vol. iii, p. 991.
[5] *Ibid.*, 48 Edw. III, m. 13.

to secure the expulsion of the foreigners. Contraveners of this decree would be treated as rebels. In 1378[1] the affair was further complicated by another squabble between England and Rome over the administration of the Irish priories. Already at the beginning of the fourteenth century the Irish house refused to pay any attention to the Vicar set over them by the English Provincial (for Ireland remained a portion of the English Province till the eve of the Reformation: only in 1484[2] did it secure its Home Rule). One, whom the General Chapter of Lyons in 1318[3] judged to be the ringleader (his name is spelt in four different ways as Henry Glam or Sliap, or Placi, or Plaep, so that it is difficult to guess what the original really was) was solemnly drummed out of the English Province—a proceeding he probably hugely enjoyed. But the dispute of 1378 concerned certain ordinations and regulations made for Ireland by the Provincial, Thomas Rushook, and his Irish Vicar, John Leicester. John Paris was appointed by the Master-General as Vicar in Ireland in Leicester's place, and Rushook was taken off from his provincialate. An appeal was made to the Holy See, a commission appointed under the presidency of Cardinal Nicholas Caraccioli, O.P., and the matter thoroughly sifted. Pope Boniface IX in 1397 finally decided, on the finding of the commission, in favour of Rushook, who was declared Provincial, his decrees upheld, and all subsequent appointments in Ireland quashed.[4] But just at this date (1378) the Provincial Chapter petitioned King and Parliament to hear their proctors against John Paris, who was accused by them of acting against the honour of the kingdom and the safety of the Order.[5] For six years after this there seems to have been peace, or at least silence. Then in 1384 there were signs that the struggle was beginning again.[6] The King addressed a letter to the Provincial and Definitors assembled in Chapter, not to allow any letters (except such as came from the Pope) to be obtained from abroad, withdrawing any friar from obedience to the Order. Meanwhile the new Master-General, with his ideas of reform, had taken office. We should expect to find him on the side of law and order, aiding the English friars in their attempts to keep up the true law of the Constitutions. But, unfortunately, the Master-General was at a distance, so that a correct version of what was happening could not easily reach him. There were others nearer, who made their voices prevail. The foreign friars were to return. Their dispensations were to be accepted by the English. The King retorted

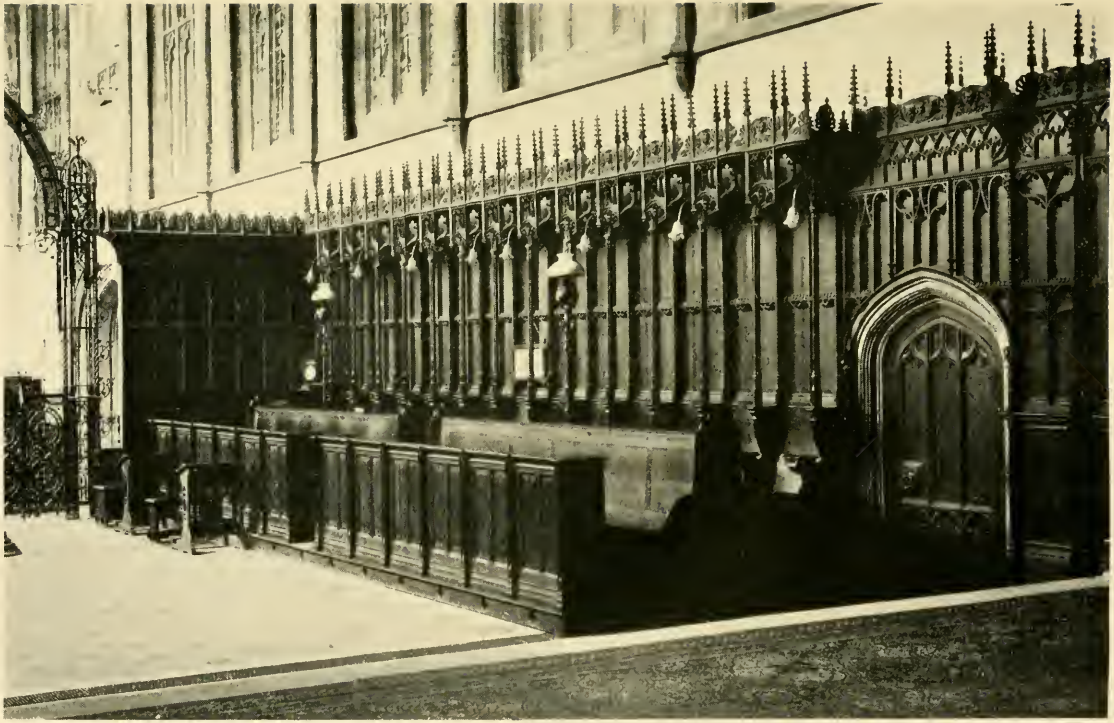
[1] *Bull.*, vol. ii, p. 69.
[2] *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 817.
[3] *Acta Cap. Gen.*, vol. ii, p. 112.
[4] *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 817.
[5] P.R.O. *Petitiones ad Parliamentum*, No. 290 R.
[6] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 7 Rich. II, m. 8.

by an ordinance which attacked the right of the General to divide up the Province into houses of observance, as had been done abroad. This was declared a new and pernicious way of defeating reform. Unless it was backed up by a papal bull, or unless it was approved by the majority of the Masters of Theology of the Province, the friars were to pay no attention to it. To read this document was to see in it a declaration of war against the General. But it is to be noted that both parties were anxious for the better state of the Province. The objective was the same in both cases, only the strategy and the tactics were at variance.

The registers of the Master-General from 1390[1] onwards are full of dispensations and favours. Leave is given to this friar to visit the Holy Land, another is restored to rights and privileges, another may visit his friends four times a year with any one else he likes, another is graciously heard and his petition granted of choosing his place in choir and refectory. At the same time (it was this that Richard II stigmatized as an attempt to split the Province) William of Barleton[2] was made Prior of Newcastle-under-Lyme, where he could gather together all those who wished to follow the strict observance. Yet on the very day of this division of house against house all over the Province (for Cork was to be in Ireland what Newcastle was in England) B. Raymund of Capua gaily restored Nicholas Chestreton[3] to favour which he had lost by apostasy, and Richard Bourne[4] was assigned to Canterbury and exempted from common services. The protests of the English Provincial against all this were in the very name of observance. Whereas no doubt Raymund, acting on Continental experience, believed the Province to be in a state of decline, and thought by dispensing the most hopeless and separating the most zealous to bring back forgotten fervour, the real facts of the case were the exact opposite, for the Province had been ruled by a succession of very strong men, whose regime was if anything too severe, and who loathed exemptions and dispensations as tending to break up that unity of discipline and life which foreign ways and foreign distinctions had alone been able to trouble.

The rumours of this in 1392[5] reached the ears of Pope Boniface IX, who commanded the English Dominicans to behave to the Master-General with the same submission as the friars of other nations behaved; and Raymund sailed along, obstinately following his own ideas. In 1393[6] he removed the Provincial, Friar Seward, appointed as his vicar Robert Humbleton, with Thomas Palmer as head of the Visitation of London and the Marches, and William Bagthorpe

[1] *Registrum B. Raymundi*, Add. MSS., 6716.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*
[5] Madox, *Formulare*, p. 425. [6] Mortier, vol. iii, p. 659.



HAWKESYARD CHAPEL: CHOIR STALLS ON GOSPEL SIDE

DOMINICAN HOUSE OF STUDIES

[To face p. 144

as head of the Visitation of Cambridge and York. On 22 November of the same year Palmer was elected Provincial at the English Chapter and confirmed in office by the Master-General.[1] But the tumult grew the more fiercely, while discipline, the cause of the whole dispute, must have suffered from the strained purpose of the opposed authorities. On 15 October of the same year Pope Boniface IX addressed a bull to the Master-General, detailing the complaints of King Richard II and others, especially that certain Dominicans nominated as papal chaplains had abused their powers and privileges by refusing to come to choir for Divine Office.[2] On this account the Pope forbids any of his chaplains to be absent from choir either by day or night, with the sole exception of Nicholas Summerton, who had laboured, and was still labouring, in the interests of the Holy Roman Church. Despite this, on 24 November 1395 Raymund issued a new list of exemptions and dispensations, of which one alone will suffice: William Howard is assigned to Thetford Priory, with permission to stay away from refectory or choir, to have free access to the pantry whenever it pleased him, to choose a companion with whom to have his meals, and to retain any of his personal effects, whether with or without leave of his prior or provincial.[3] Almost at the same time Raymund issued a letter demanding a thorough investigation into the conduct of Thomas Palmer, the Provincial, whom he accuses of excessive harshness, and of John Pyng, Prior of London.[4] The charges made concerning Palmer are nine in all:

(1) Whether Robert Humbleton was Vicar of the Chapter when Palmer was elected Provincial, and whether he scrutinized the votes with due care.
(2) Whether Robert Humbleton had ever been excommunicated by the Holy See.
(3) Whether, if he had been so excommunicated, before presiding over the election he had been absolved from censures.
(4) Whether Thomas Palmer had ever been disobedient and irreverent, especially to letters received from his superiors.
(5) Whether Thomas Palmer had made use of especially severe punishment, beyond all custom.
(6) Whether Thomas Palmer had given bread and water in the prison, known in the English Province as Sequestra, to any unconvicted person in order to make him confess.
(7) Whether Thomas Palmer had broken publicly the laws, customs, and constitutions.

[1] Mortier, vol. iii, p. 659.
[2] *Bull.*, vol. ii, p. 337.
[3] *Registrum B. Raymundi*, Add. MSS., 6716.
[4] Mortier, vol. iii, pp. 660-661.

(8) Whether, owing to his severity, some friars had left the Order or apostatised or even committed suicide.

(9) Whether Thomas Palmer had harried the foreign students at Oxford or taken away from them the privileges bestowed by his predecessors or by Raymund or the last General Chapter held at Venice.

Against the Prior of London it was alleged that he had denounced certain bulls, that he had a personal deposit of money, that he kept no duplicate inventory of the goods of the priory, that he refused to accept friars assigned to his house by the Master-General. All ex-priors, Lectors, and Readers of Sentences were to investigate the accounts, and if six of the worthier members of the community agreed as to the truth of the charges, John Pyng was to be removed from office. As John was still Prior in 1396 it is presumed that the charges were held not to be substantiated.

Unfortunately, the method of procedure adopted against the Provincial was hardly consonant with fairness, for the Master-General appointed as judge, Friar William Bagthorpe, who, if six out of the nine articles preferred were in his judgement proved, was to absolve Palmer from office and himself to succeed at once as Vicar-General of the English friars. No doubt William Bagthorpe was a most excellent person (though when the time of election eventually came his brethren did not confirm him in office, but chose another friar, William Peckworth, as Provincial), but it was putting him in a wholly false position to make him judge of Thomas Palmer, with the right of succession if he found Palmer guilty. Palmer was found guilty, and, *ipso facto*, Bagthorpe became Vicar-General.

Richard II continued quietly to back up the English ideals by issuing a royal mandate on 12 July 1396[1] to the Prior of Oxford, bidding him send away from the house all those students who claimed to have received certain liberties and privileges from B. Raymund, and who refused to accept or follow regular obedience and the customs of the house, to wit, *onera chori et domus*. This was signed at Woodstock (within a dozen miles of Oxford) by "the King himself." It is repeated almost verbally by Henry IV, 1 May 1402,[2] who adds that for the friars to act otherwise would be contrary to the wish of the benefactors of the house. Almost in the same month comes a letter from the General complaining bitterly of the accusations made against him by the Province and by Richard II, whom of all Christian princes he most loves. He denies that he has ever been anti-English, or that he was in any sense hostile to the solemnity of Divine worship. Pathetic in

[1] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 20 Rich II, p. 1, m. 32.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3 Hen. IV, p. 2, m. 18.

its meek tone, the letter of B. Raymund is a confirmation of the contention that the English Province upheld the best traditions of Dominican life. In it the Master-General gives up all his opposition, and assures the Province that he had not intended to do anything contrary to religious discipline. If any person of evil life claimed authority for his actions by asserting a dispensation from Rome, the Saint bade them hold all such leave to have been surreptitiously obtained. Oddly enough, the dispensations still continued to flow from Rome, and were duly noted in the register of the General. The new King (Henry IV) was as fierce and determined as his predecessor, forbidding on 21 October 1403[1] any decrees or graces granted from abroad to be used in England without local authority, and refusing on 5 April 1405[2] to allow the taxes levied by the General to be paid or sent out of the kingdom, as the demand for money was made "not out of religious zeal but by greed." Finally Pope Martin V on 21 April 1428 issued a bull to the Province expressing his delight with the English friars, whom he characterized as "good religious, truly devoted to the Holy See."[3]

Thus the long quarrel died fitfully away. Yet it is abundantly clear that there was little sign of laxity among the responsible authorities of the Province. Their whole attitude was one of protest against the endless stream of dispensations emanating from Rome, petty, no doubt, in detail, and finding easy acceptance here and there, yet repugnant to the majority, to those elected by their brethren to posts of importance in England. The King backed up the insistence made by prior and provincial on the constitutional round of the day, with its incidents of common table, choral recitation of office, and the customary obedience of the house, though he is careful to defend these superiors from any charge of intriguing with him to over-set the commands of the Master-General. Richard II, out of real devotion, and Henry IV, out of policy, favoured the side of religious discipline.

A last point may be quoted which is relied on by continental historians as a sign of the slackened interest in observance shown by English Dominicans.[4] The General Chapter of 1442, held at Avignon, declared that "because the English Province has omitted to send representatives to the General Chapter now for many years . . . we wish that through the Master-General or through his Vicar appointed to make a visitation of the Province those who by their negligence or malice are guilty of this should be punished, and that the Acts of the present Chapter (notwithstanding this absence) should be accepted and observed." Now "many years" has a very

[1] P.R.O. *R. C.*, 5 Hen. IV, p. 1, m. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, 6 Hen. IV, m. 14.
[3] *Bull.*, vol. ii, p. 686.
[4] *Acta Cap. Gen.*, vol. iii, p. 250.

ominous sound, and suggests considerable neglect of this duty of reunion. As a matter of fact, it cannot mean more than eight years at most since Gilbert Brown, Master in Theology, was certainly present at the General Chapter held at Colmar in 1434,[1] and he represented England. During, therefore, the period which covered the loss of England's French dominions and the triumphs of Joan of Arc (from 1434 to 1442) the complaint is made that from these islands no one attended these General Chapters. Yet during that very period, when the state of the country was politically and socially disturbed, and when every excuse could be made for the Province, it is to be noted that only two such Chapters were held, one at Venice (1437) and one at Savigliano (1439), and these were farther off from England than from anywhere else. Between 1442 and 1518 only fifteen Chapters (out of the twenty-eight held) give the names of those present, and at twelve of these sat representatives of the English friars.[2] Three, that is to say, were missed over a period of seventy-six years. The Province of Lombardy during that period was unrepresented at eight, the Provinces of Spain and Toulouse at three, of France and Rome at two, which shows the list of English failures to attend as not at all a damaging record.

There were four more Chapters held before ruin and penal exactions made normal religious life impossible in these islands. From the Chapter of Valladolid in 1523 the Provincials of France and England were both excused "on account of the difficulties arising from war and pestilence."[3] In 1525, when the friars were to meet in Rome, there were obvious reasons why no subjects of Henry VIII would have been allowed by their royal master to enter the city of the Popes. In 1530 dealings with Rome were forbidden formally by law; and by 1532 the King had declared himself supreme head of the Church in England, and watched with jealous eye every coming and going over-seas. Hence if we take one symptom after another which is supposed to show how far the Province had declined from its primitive fervour we discover that one after another they point to the same idea, viz., that on the whole, from its beginnings to close on its ruin under Henry VIII, it strove repeatedly under its superiors to live up to its ideals. Even after the Black Death had spent its fury, and been succeeded by a relaxation of the severe and careful choosing of novices, those who had been brought up under or had been the immediate heirs to the older system carried with them the rugged decorum of full activity. As confessors, as theologians and preachers, as bishops, they held up to the traditions to which they had succeeded.

[1] *Acta Cap. Gen.*, vol. iii, p. 226.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 280, 301, 334, 354, 374, 393; vol. iv, pp. 2, 25, 62, 124, 156.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 193.

No doubt out of the four Orders of friars, quite a number, as has been repeatedly admitted, broke loose and carried their religious habits into places and circumstances where scandal was caused, and the Faith itself led into disrepute. There is evidence of this perhaps in the many records of the pursuit and capture of apostates. But it is no use to take the verses of Chaucer, or the sermons of Wycliffe, or the sneers of Matthew Paris, or the cynicism of Fitz-Ralph as real sober history. They exhibit one side of Dominican life; but not the only side, nor certainly the most normal: it would be as vain to accuse lords of drunkenness, and troopers of swearing, on the mere strength of a proverbial expression. Unpopular as the friars may very often have been it is curious that in Wycliffe's eyes they were the leaders and instigators of the Peasant Revolt of 1381. The four Orders of friars issued an indignant protest against the accusation, but many others besides Wycliffe were convinced of their participation in the affair. The unnamed chronicler of S. Albans who wrote the *Chronicon Angliae* considers their influence over the people to have been so great that had they chosen they could easily have prevented the outbreak. It is true that he traces this influence to their gross flattery of rich and poor; but this at any rate refutes the idea of their general want of popularity. Langland, in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, also accuses them explicitly of endeavouring to teach religious communism as a political obligation:

> Envy heard this and bade friars go to school,
> And learn logic and law and eke contemplation,
> And preach men of Plato and prove it by Seneca
> That all things under heaven ought to be in common. . . .

The same opinion is reflected in the fabricated confession of Jack Straw, for he is made to declare that the rebels intended, if the revolution had been successful, to suppress all the secular clergy and monastic orders, as the friars by themselves were sufficiently numerous to supply the spiritual needs of the whole kingdom. Actually, too, among the rebels, friars are stated by contemporaries to have marched up from Kent.[1]

Now, however this evidence may be questioned, it can be interpreted at least in this sense, that at the time among the poorer classes the friars were popular. Moreover, we have ample proof that at the Court, and to the personal pleasure of the King, they were also held in much friendship. At either end of the social scale they found themselves reverenced and followed. It can therefore only appear as though whatever difficulties they experienced were due to the middle classes. Yet it is more than clear from the long list of wills that among these too, at least among the merchant class, were to be

[1] *Mediaeval Socialism*, pp. 39-40.

found the greatest benefactors whom the friars had. To judge therefore by actual evidence, such as can after this long lapse of years be carefully collected, it would seem as though despite many who fell short of the ideals of the Order, the Dominicans on the whole secured no small share in the popular regard in which by all classes the friars were held. The greater and lesser baronage were perhaps least devoted to religion, and they do seem (with one or two exceptions) to have held aloof from the Preaching Friars. Yet even these found occasion to make use of the good offices of the children of S. Dominic. In Capgrave's Chronicle we find this paragraph describing the last hours of Henry IV: "In the fourteenth year, this King died, the 20th day of March when he had reigned thirteen years and a half. At his death, as was reported of full sad men, certain lords steered his confessor, Father John Till, Doctor of Divinity,[1] that he should induce the King to repent him and do penance in special for three things—one for the death of King Richard; the other for the death of Archbishop Scrope; the third for the wrong title of the Crown. And his answer was this: For the first two points I wrote unto the Pope the very truth of my conscience and he sent me a bull with absolution and penance assigned which I have fulfilled. And as for the third point it is hard to set a remedy, for my children will not suffer that the regalia go out of our lineage."[2]

How far can this popularity be set to the proof of observance? Perhaps hardly at all, since the two things have no immediate connection. Yet there is this to be noticed, that influence implies respect (unless it be merely tyrannous and inquisitorial, which cannot be charged in any sense whatever against the English Dominicans), and respect itself in a Catholic community implies in turn that the objects of it have in no sense whatever outraged public opinion by scandal or lawless living. Now abroad it was not only a lack of observance that moved S. Catherine of Siena and S. Vincent Ferrer to deplore the decline of the Preaching Friars, but a corresponding lack of influence which they equally lament. The fact, therefore, that judging by actual documentary evidence we are sure of the persistence, and even extension of the influence of the friars in English life makes us incline to the general proposition that up to the end of the reign of Henry IV little decline can be noticed in the steadfastness with which the Preaching Friars endeavoured to achieve some definite approach to the ideals of S. Dominic.

[1] Why does Mr. Belloc in "Eye-Witnesses" speak of him as *Parson* Till?

[2] Capgrave, *Chronicle of England*, p. 302.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMATION

DESPITE every endeavour made by the English Province it seems almost certain that gradually the various priories began to decline in numbers and in fervour. It would almost seem as though the stimulus of discussion or quarrel was required to keep vigorous the Preaching Friars. Soon after their entrance into these islands, indeed, soon after their very foundation, they went through a period of persecution or attack from already established interests and monastic bodies, resenting the encroachment of a merely recent establishment. Hardly had they settled down themselves as a regular feature of English life than they encountered a philosophical antagonism that threatened to overwhelm entirely the progress they had made. Straight on this followed their controversy with the University authorities of Oxford and Cambridge which occupied a large place in the energies of the Province. Then followed the successful litigation with two successive Master-Generals, which proved, as well as produced, the religious fervour of the friars. For a while came further excitement in the doctrinal tempest evoked by the teaching of Wycliffe. But statutes and civil authority broke such force as Lollardism had begun to acquire, and drove it off sullenly and silently to the fringe of the east coast and the beech woods of the Chilterns, where continental, especially German, influence alone kept it alive as a disruptive power. Intellectually Wycliffism had suffered eclipse. Thereby it ceased to interest the friars. They had as a result no real educated power to attack them on intellectual grounds. Silent, dulled, asleep, they took, in the last century of their pre-Reformation existence, hardly any place at all in the national life.

The petition of the Guildford friars to Henry VIII is evidence of the state of many other priories in England. It is dated October 1537.

"In most humble wise sheweth unto your most excellent highness and prudent wisdom your faithfully loving orators and continual beadsmen the prior and convent of the Friar Preachers within your Town of Guildford, the which said poor place being now of your most gracious Queen Jane's foundation, and so ever hitherto hath continued from the third and [ ] year of Queen Eleanor, wife and spouse unto King Henry III, for whom as first foundress we are continually bound to pray, for the soul and now also for the most high puissant and excellent estate of our said most gracious Queen to this foundation by very right, title of succession foundress, lamentably beseech your noble grace, of your bountiful goodness, pretending there your charity toward us, your said

beadsmen. Also for the great zeal, amity, love and favour that your noble grace and high majesty doth pretend towards this our said place of your said gracious Queen's foundation, in that it hath pleased your highness to edify, build, set up a place of honour upon and within the precincts of the said foundation for the high pleasure of your noble grace, your heirs and successors for evermore; which place decayeth and for fear it should decay more and more, your said orators having no land's rent nor other tenements for the maintenance of the said house and convent, but liveth by charity and alms of all true Christian people—the which charity and alms we receive not so plentiful as we have in times past, wherethrough the said place hath sustained great scarcity and penury, as well oftentimes wanting to their bodily sustentation as in maintenance of their ruinous house and building. Also wanting wherewith to accomplish manifold pleasures for your grace to be done, as in setting out trying and fashioning grounds and gardens about your said place, wherefore, and if it may stand with your gracious pleasure to annex, grant, give annuite, benefice, prebendy, free chapel, corody, commanding or order and governy over any house of alms and prayers unto the said prior and convent as well, and first for the maintenance of your said place and thereto bind us perpetually, as also to succour, aid, and comfort of your said orators and beadsmen, and maintaining their ruinous building, also renewing and keeping such ground and gardens encompassing your said place, trusting always to your Grace's pleasure, of the yearly value as your Highness, with your honourable Council, can discern, or as it please your noble Grace to show your most high favour thereto the premises, tenderly considering the same. In so doing, your said orators daily prayeth to Almighty God for your most princely and honourable estate to reign, prosper, and endure. Amen."[1]

This enormous sentence (besides showing us Jane Seymour as a foundress of a religious house, Henry as considered favourable to the friars as late as 1537, and the sort of arguments likely to appeal to the King) is sufficiently illuminative of the depths to which the English Dominicans had sunk. Alms were lacking; so they cringe to the King. There is nothing to show that Henry was moved to give them anything, though in 1531 he had once bestowed £5 "to the friers of Guildeford in reward."[2] Princess Mary was kinder: "Item given to the Freres at guldford vjs. viij" figures in her accounts for that year.[3] Materially depleted by the want of alms the English priories had also shrunk considerably in the numbers of their community, dwindling even in the great

[1] *Reliquary*, 1887, p. 16. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

houses of London and Gloucester to a very much reduced list of friars.

Then after this long peace came once more the sound of religious discussion, and as a result the friars began to stir themselves and to awake from lethargy. Had the process been allowed to develop normally it would seem certain that the lost position would have been reoccupied, but royal authority, moved by royal conscience and royal greed, decided to interfere. The friaries were harassed, eventually dissolved; thus before there was time to organize the growing signs of life, the whole Province was suppressed by persecution, and during nearly fifty years had no official existence, though, of course, the remnants of the English Province survived as scattered units till they were gathered together again under a Vicar-Provincial in 1622.

The first symptom of the impending religious struggle, as far as the Dominicans were concerned, occurs in a letter of John Hilsey, the Prior of Bristol, dated 2 May 1532, referring to the sermons of Latimer in that city. It was addressed to the Lord Chancellor:

"Master Chancellor.

"I commend me unto you as heartily as I may think, trusting in God that you be (the which Jesu continue) in good prosperity. It is not out of your Mastership's remembrance that in the Lent I did write unto you of the great division that was (yea, and that is) among the people in the town of Bristol of the which I wrote unto you that it came by the preaching of one Master Latimer, a man not unknown. I wrote to you also that he spoke of pilgrimages, worshipping of saints, worshipping of images, of purgatory, etc., the which he did vehemently pursuade towards the contrary that the people were not a little offended. I wrote also that some men thought necessary to preach against him the which I supposed not best except he should be put to silence for fear of further division, the which by this course is now happened indeed. This was the occasion of my first letter, first the fame that I heard of this man, Master Latimer, before that I knew him, the which fame deceived not only me but others as well learned as I; second was the vehement persuading against the abuse of these things as is above written, as of masses, of scala coeli pardons, the fire of hell, the state of the souls in purgatory, of faith without good works, of Our Lady to be a sinner or no sinner, etc., the which I and such others did suppose that he did preach to the intent to confound these things; whereupon both the worshipful men, Master Doctor Powell, Master Goodrich, Master Heberdyne, Master Prior of S. James and I did preach against, approving purgatory, pilgrimages, the worshipping of saints and images, also approv-

ing that faith without works is but dead, and that Our Lady, being full of grace, is and was without the spot of sin, but when we had done I reckoned we laboured but in vain. . . . For since I have commenced with Master Latimer, and I have heard him preach and have intitled his sermons sentence for sentence, and have perceived that his mind is much more against the abusing of these things than against the things themselves. . . . In my judgement by that that I know of Master Latimer's mind now (if he might have your licence) he would open his mind on this matter that the people should be content, and this would please the Council of the Town well, for upon this they be agreed and hopeth upon your good help in it. And if I may, with my little understanding, further this matter to bring it into a unity as God is my Judge; and if he (*quod absit*) should hereafter say anything that should sound otherwise than the Catholical determination of the Church, there will be (those) I know that will be ready to note it with more diligence than hitherto. The above was my conscience, though it were for a time erroneous, and deceived for lack of taking heed diligently to mark and know the abuse of a thing from the thing. The which cause I shall reserve secretly to myself lest I should seem to put other men in guilty of my facts that I do not intend. God willing who have you in His protection. Written in Bristol, 2nd May

"By me, Friar John Hilsey, Doctor
and Prior of the Friars Preachers there."[1]

This letter has been reproduced almost in full, since it helps one to understand the rather tangled and changing attitude of honest men towards the preaching of the Reformers. At first their attacks on Catholic doctrine were answered by the defence of the points of controversy; but it then appeared that even men like Latimer had no desire really to overturn the Faith, but only those abuses in practice which Catholics themselves were quick enough to admit and lament. Hence Hilsey and other intelligent Dominicans like him began to find some sympathy towards the stirring preachers, though resolute to avoid whatever really might develop into denials of articles of Faith.

Then in Norwich on Easter Monday, two years later, the Prior of the Dominicans there, Friar Edmund Harcock, preached a sermon which caused some commotion. His own copy or digest[2] (Treasury of Receipts of Exchequer: vol A 3/11, P.R.O. fol. 23) is marked by him at the end with this candid and quaint confession: "The said Harcock confesseth himself to be neither God nor angel, but man which may err,

[1] *Reliquary*, 1888, pp. 78, 79.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 99; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. vii, p. 237; vol. viii, p. 254.

wherefore if he have erred in any man's judgement he is content to submit himself under the correction and reformation of others as it shall please his superiors under the King's grace to order him." The sermon itself was a very quiet and careful exposition of Catholic doctrine. He uses the Easter morning visit of the holy women to the tomb of Christ in order to anoint His dead body to prove "that works must needs be had with faith annexed thereto, or else I see no scripture to our commendations." Then, though with some difficulty, he managed to squeeze out the angel's declaration, the teaching apposite to his times, "that the word or the sentence of God determined is ever infallibly fulfilled," and therefore takes precedence of the "word or decree of man," which "is found sometimes fallible." This is reinforced by an appeal to the Books of Daniel, Esther, and Ezechiel.

Skilfully this is made clearly applicable to "present politics," for an appeal was then launched for prayers for the King, "chief lord of this land, also supreme head of the Church of England, and a singular friend to the Cambridge and Oxford scholars of our order," for "our most honourable lady Anne the Queen's good grace, my lady princess, with other of the substitutes both spiritual and temporal." After this passing tribute to Henry and Anne Boleyn, he proceeded in a rather detached spirit to speak about the state of Jerusalem, the wickedness of the priests and the defiling of virgins and the breaking down of altars and relics, as depicted by the prophets. Again he very carefully lets his audience understand that he is referring to other places than Jerusalem, and other times than those of the prophets, by protesting over-much against any one's thinking his words to apply to "any act within this realm proclaimed, or to be proclaimed."

He enjoyed evidently talking rather in the air, and then coming down with a bump by pretending he is not making any remarks about present controversies, and thus repeatedly insisting on them the more. To the question as to who are the disciples of Christ, he answered they are to be found in every walk in life, "fishing and knitting, and keeping courts and court revels"; nor are these to be accused of hypocrisy or phariseeism who enter into cloister in cowls, "some white, some black, betokening castity and forsaking the world," while others "go cloaked in frocks of red betokening outwardly love of God, charity, and pity of the poor." They are no more pharisees than any one else so long as they "inwardly do well what is this garment outwardly"; but should they really only pretend to a goodness at which they do not aim, then they can as well be hypocrites as others whose "hoods are lined with silk or fur." Not the cowl makes the pharisee, nor the want of it saves a man from hypocrisy;

but a hypocrite is to be judged by his thoughts and intentions.

Innocent really as the whole sermon now reads, it apparently excited much controversy in the city. Cromwell had by this time ordered the visitation of the monasteries, and had picked as his chief instrument to annoy the Dominicans, Richard Ingworth, Prior of the Noviciate house at King's Langley, who later for his services to the court was consecrated Bishop of Dover. Ingworth wrote to Cromwell, sending along with the sermon a description of its effects. It appears that Harcock had had in his audience "the mayor and the substance of the city," whom the sermon offended, so that at their request Ingworth, in virtue of his visitorial authority, "sequestered the said friar commanding him to write his sermon." The mayor himself immediately after the sermon when Harcock "came out of the pulpit said to him that he marvelled what moved him to meddle with such matters," but, seeing "so great people, would make no business, but required him to come to him afterwards that he might commune with him." The prior evidently suspected what such familiar communing really signified, for he made no effort to hasten it unduly, and sent a messenger to answer "that he was not at home." At this the mayor too desisted, apparently glad to be relieved of further complications, but Ingworth "sequestered the person, and still have him in custody till I know your further pleasure." Of this further pleasure we are ignorant, for Harcock thence after is not mentioned.[1]

Meanwhile Hilsey, who had become now Provincial, was appointed on 13 April 1534,[2] along with the Provincial of the Austin Friars, to make a visitation of the five Orders of friars, noting their behaviour, their fidelity to their vows and rule, and their general good fame among their neighbours. Where they stood in need of it, reform was to be imposed on them, above all the royal supremacy was to be insisted upon, even to the extent of calling in the secular arm to enforce its acceptance should any reluctance be notified. A long way Hilsey had gone in that short interval. First he had been indignant and furious with Latimer whom he judged to be an enemy of Catholic doctrine, then he seemed to discover that Latimer after all was merely a reformer of customs which even Catholics could quite easily acknowledge to be evil over-growths, finally he had come to acknowledge that Latimer was not only to be tolerated but to be followed. The years that came after brought affluence to some of the visitators, who found nice comfortable nests with wealth attached. Not so Friar John Hilsey. His ways were always hard, and

[1] *Reliquary*, 1889, p. 99.
[2] *D. N. B.*, vol. ix, pp. 884-885.

life grew less certain than in the older monastic days. Of course seeing the direction the royal favour was taking, other friars were determined not to be out-bid by their Provincial, and some few of them jumped even farther. Four days later Robert Stroddle, Prior of the London Preachers, "doctor of sacred science," freely and of his own will, and with the unanimous consent of the whole convent, affixed his signature to the deed accepting the royal supremacy, which had been signed also by the London Priors of Austin and Carmelite Friars, and the Guardian of the Franciscans.[1]

Certainly there were bloody reasons to suggest unanimous consent to the luckless Dominicans. "This year" (notes the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*), "was the maid of Kent with the monks, friars, and the parson of Aldermary drawn to Tyburn, and then hanged and headed the v day of May, and the monks buried at the Blackfriars, the observants with the holy maid at the Greyfriars, and the parson at his Church, Aldermary."[2] On the very same day, 5 May 1534, Friar Richard Ingworth, Prior of King's Langley, and Friar John Coton, Prior of Dunstable, with the full and free consent of their communities sign the deed whereby are acknowledged the "chaste mariage," between Henry and Anne Boleyn, together with any marriage into which after Anne's death the King may hereinafter enter, the royal headship of the English Church, the authority of the Bishop of Rome as no greater than that of the English prelates within their own dioceses, the sovereignty of the laws of parliament as against any foreign jurisdiction, the need of interpreting scripture only according to the traditions of the orthodox Catholic doctors. With these, on the same deed of acceptance, signed also the Franciscan Guardians of Aylesbury, Ware, and Bedford, and the Carmelite Prior of Hitching.[3] After that one by one the Dominican Priories, according as the visitors approached them, gave in. They do not indeed all appear to have subscribed the royal supremacy, but they certainly handed over their priories to the King's good pleasure.

Symptoms, however, do appear to show that there was still dissatisfaction strong enough to find voice up and down the Province. At Exeter we hear of "Mr. Charnocke" who may well be F. Thomas Charnock, accused of saying hard things about the Provincial, for which he appears to have been put in prison.[4] Cranmer, writing to Cromwell 7 June 1534, alludes to "Friar Oliver," prior of the Blackfriars of Cambridge, which is not only a man of very small learning, sinister behaviour, ill qualities, and of suspected conversation of living (as by the letters of divers well learned personages

[1] *Merry England*, 1889, pp. 280-281. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 281.
[3] *Reliquary*, 1879, p. 215; 1881, p. 13.
[4] B.M. Cotton MSS., Cleopatra, E. VI, art. 20, fol. 202.

of the same university, whereof I have sent you one, I have been credibly informed), but is also the very same man which of all others most indiscretely preached against the King's grace's great cause, and most defended the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and of all men most inapt to bear any rule in so noble a university, by whom also a great number of the best learned in the same is much offended; wherefore I pray you to be a mean that he may be removed from that office, and that Dr. Hilsey or some other worshipful man may have it. There be in the same house of the blackfriars men of good sturdy living, learning, and judgement; and pity it were that they should have such a head and ruler as is of like qualities. And I delivered unto you about Easter last past or else afore a certain billet containing such matter as the same friar Oliver preached in the last Lent, which bill if ye had remembered I doubt not but that you would have provided for some other friar afore this time; albeit (if it may please you now to remember him), there is no time yet lost, but that the same may be renewed again."[1]

Friar Oliver also, perhaps the same, perhaps another (namely, Friar William Oliver, Prior of the Dominicans of Bristol), on 7 May 1537, was accused of having said many things altogether repugnant to the King's grace. With him it was the theology of the new religion that was most to be abhorred, and the matter of his discourses as set down by various witnesses on oath is a very just and moderate statement of Catholic doctrine, so fair and just that he willingly agreed to as much of the newer teaching as might be held without loss of true religion. "First concerning justification, he said that faith alone justifieth as it does appear in diverse places of Scripture, and that a man could not fruitfully work before he was justified by faith in Christ, and that he so justified must needs work and see to the edifying and necessity of his neighbour, and that this faith could no less be unprofitable or without works than the Sun without his beams or light, nor as the good tree or fresh green plant could not choose but bring forth good fruit, even so might not faith be void or barren without good works. Secondly, . . . he said that although one had ten cart-loads of cowls and friars' habits, whether they were of Francis Order or of S. Dominic's, of which he was one himself (and that if that might do good he thought his order one of the eldest in England), yet that could not avail without faith, nor a whole ship laden with friars' girdles, nor a dung-cart full of monks' cowls and boots, would not help to justification. . . . Also he prayed God there were no privy nor thin hearts nor close-festered stomacks among them, as he trusted there were none but that every man might be true to God and to his prince as they ought to

[1] *Reliquary*, 1885, p. 210.

be, and as they are bound by the law of God." A fair estimate of the Catholic attitude towards the vexed questions, theological and political.[1]

On 26 August 1536 another Dominican Prior was reported to Henry VIII as also opposed to the new ideas as regards the Bishop of Rome. It is Cranmer who makes the report,[2] detailing in general how he himself had delivered two sermons in Canterbury against the Pope as God's Vicar on earth ("although he was so taught this three or four hundred years") and "though my two sermons were long . . . I was informed by sundry reports that the people were glad . . . until such time as the Prior of the Blackfriars of Canterbury preached a sermon as it was thought and reported clean contrary unto all the three things which I had preached before." The said prior upbraided the Archbishop for his want of charity towards the Bishops of Rome, saying "openly to me in a good audience that he knew no vices of none of the Bishops of Rome"; but above all he even dared to declare that "the Church never erred," which, as Cranmer pointed out, could only mean that Henry certainly had. This point Cranmer indeed labours with much skill and no humour, ending with a demand for the immediate punishment of the friar and much gratitude "for the stag which your Grace sent unto me from Windsor Forest, which if your Grace knew for how many causes it was welcome unto me, and how many ways it did me since, I am sure you would think it much the better bestowed."

Just a year later, 25 May 1537, the Prior of York suffered the penalty of death. He had had a hand in the great rebellion of the North, so that politics may be said partly to have entered into the cause of his execution. For that reason he does not at present appear in the list of official martyrs until his case has been more thoroughly tested. State papers speak of his recantation or confession; but the value of these official confessions can hardly be taken as matter of serious acceptance.[3] Certainly at Tyburn he was "hanged, headed and quartered" along with three others: "And that same day at Tyburn was a young friar of the Blackfriars brought up, for because he desired the heart of him that brought him up, to have it and to burn it, the sheriff sent him to Newgate, and there he was a fortnight or more" (*Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London.*)

It is to be noticed that all these who gave trouble to the King and his friends were actual priors of houses, superiors chosen by their own brethren to rule them. No doubt there

[1] *Reliquary*, 1888, p. 79.
[2] *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. vii, pp. 13, 14.
[3] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xii, Nos. 479, 609, 698, 786, 1019, 1021, 1207.
[4] B.M. Cotton MSS., Vitellius, F. XII, fol. 350[b].

was no thought of what was to happen when the elections of these various staunch defenders of Catholic doctrine took place, so that the significance cannot absolutely be accepted as representative of the Province's attitude to the King; yet, for all that, it can certainly be submitted as good evidence of the condition of the English Dominicans that down to the very verge of the dissolution the superiors elected were in so many cases strong, vigorous, and devoted to the Faith. The Prior of Newcastle is another to be added to this sturdy band. So bold was his advocacy of the Pope's authority, that at last, in imminent peril of life, he left his convent and fled over the border, addressing this letter to the fathers and brethren of the convent of Blackfriars in Newcastle. "Fathers and brethren, I recommend me unto you, desiring to hear of your good welfare, which Jesu preserve ever to His pleasure, etc. The cause of my writing to you is this time to show that for fear of my life I am fled, for because of my preaching in Advent and also in Lent the first Sunday, I am noted to be none of the King's friends, though albeit that I love the man as a true Christian man ought to do, but by cause that I have not, according to the King's commandment, in my sermons prayed for him as the supreme head of the Church, neither declaring him in my sermons to be the supreme head of the Church, but rather contrary I have declared S. Peter the Apostle and his successors to be Christ's Vicars on earth, and that unto Peter Christ gave the care and charge of all the churches of the world, and that unto other apostles Christ gave the care and charge of other particular churches, some of one country and some of another (thus did I, the forenoon of the first Sunday); of the which words it followeth that the King cannot be the supreme head of the Church of England but rather the successors of Peter. I was also admonished shortly to preach in Newcastle, and both to pray for him as the supreme head and also so to declare him unto the people, which thing I cannot do lawfully, first because it is against the Scripture of God, taken in a true sense; second, it is against the doctrine of the Church Catholic and apostolic, as it appeareth in the decrees, decretals, etc., which doctrine I was sworn openly in the University of Oxford to declare it to my power, and ever to stick unto it, and that I should never affirm anything, neither in schools nor in preaching nor elsewhere that is contrary to the determination of the same Church, Catholic and apostolic. Thirdly, that it is against many general councils. Fourthly, that it is against the interpretation of all the holy doctors as Irenius, Cyprian, Augustine, Jerome, etc. Fifthly, that it is against the doctrine of all the Universities and general Schools of all Christendom, a few certain universities excepted, lately corrupt and poisoned with Luther's heresies. Sixthly, that it is against the consent of all

Christian people which has received Peter's successors as supreme head of the Church Catholic evermore unto this time. Seventhly, that is against my profession which I made to be obedient unto the Master of the Holy (Dominican) Order and successors according to the institutions of Friars Preachers, who in it evidently declare that *ordo noster est summo Pontifici Romano immediate subjectus.* For these seven causes I cannot lawfully do as I was commanded of the King by his letters, neither as I was admonished of his servant and chaplain. Wherefore I could not abide in England without falling in the King's indignation, which, as the Scripture says, is death: *Indignatio, inquit, principis mors est.* Thus I have thought it better for me to flee and give place to ire as Christ commanded me to do, and as both He and His disciples, with many other good men, have done and dayly do, than I would tarry and preach false doctrine against my conscience, or yet to tarry and suffer death as others have done, for *spiritus quidem promptus est caro autem infirma.* I am in heart well willing to die in these my opinions, notwithstanding I feel my flesh grog with death. Wherefore, Fathers and dear brethren all, for the premises in this present writing I give up my office and request you to choose you another prior. Secondly, I beseech you all to pray for me as your poor brother in Christ, and now in Christ's cause departed from you. So committing myself to you in Jesu, who ever save you all, as I would be saved myself. Amen.—Vester, Richardus Marshall."[1]

Not very heroic, perhaps, was the attitude of Friar Richard! He had certainly no wish to die, and still less any desire to conform his conscience to what it could not approve; to solve the problem he fled to Scotland. He was not the only Dominican to seek his safety beyond the Cheviots. Robert Buchenham, Prior of Cambridge, was another who could not face persecution, nor yet had greatness enough to accept martyrdom; for him Edinburgh proved some sort of anchorage till he could eventually ship over to Louvain, where were together the recusant members of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. There Theobald, Cranmer's spy, met him on 31 July 1535, "and another of his brethren with him . . . where he with his companion doth continue in the house of the Blackfriars here and have little acquaintance," and wrote to the Archbishop to explain that the Dominicans had no part in the arrest and execution of Tyndale for heresy.[2] However, the letter is useful as showing that Scotland was evidently a place of refuge for the English friars who could face neither martyrdom nor apostasy, and that from it some at least went to the Low Countries, where in the priories of their own Order, without political or other intrigue, they quietly prayed away their lives.

[1] *Reliquary*, 1878, pp. 163-164.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 210.

But there were others, perhaps many others, who were fain to comply with parliamentary enactments and be classed among the "King's friends." For Maurice Griffiths, "a poor friar and scholar of the University of Oxford," Hilsey implored Cromwell's aid that the young man's studies should not be interrupted.[1] His political and religious attitude was evidently of a nature to please the Court, for Hilsey notes in his favour that he "at the last Chapter answered *de primatu Romani Pontificis*." But at the very same time John Hilsey himself seems to have fallen under some suspicion of his own full acceptance of royal doctrine, since he wrote also in 1534 to Cromwell to complain that the Bishop of London would not let him preach at "Paul's Cross," unless he previously signed certain articles of belief. As a matter of fact Hilsey, though he was billed to preach there on the morrow, had no intention of so doing, but desired instead that his place should be taken by him "that came from Norwich to the intent that he might declare his mind to the King's grace's matters."[2] No doubt it was Friar Edmund Harcock who was to be given his chance. But of what actually happened there is at present silence.

But the new Prior at Norwich was eager to show his gratitude for his promotion. "At S. Leonard's without Norwich upon Ascension eve in the year of Our Lord 1535," he introduced into the bidding prayer a petition "for our Sovereign Lord King Harry, of the Church of England, chief head so called." However, at some length he took pains to explain "that the King should be head in ministering of sacraments, or in incensing, or other such I deny and will in any place in the world," for it is only "the King is their head in *temporalibus*." He admits, indeed, that even this was a breach with the past so that "men will marvel why I change my tale," but he now sees that "the Bishop of Rome by the Scripture of God hath no more power than the Bishop of Ely. How came the Bishop of Rome by this power? By man's ordinance, by general councils, and by the grant of the whole ocean (?). And whether other countries have taken this from him or no, I cannot tell, but this I know well that the whole Council of this realm hath taken this authority from him. Here will some say, Sir, you seem to speak against yourself, seeing that your Order was confirmed by the Bishop of Rome. To this I say that so long as the Bishop of Rome was in authority, the fathers Benet, Dominic, and Francis did well in going to him to have their rules approved. I shall put you a familiar example, though it be gross. Father Pennyman and others too that he rehearsed were priors here, men did well to obey them, but after that such had taken

[1] Ellis, *Miscellaneous Papers*, Series II, vol. xvii, no. 57.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xviii, no. 282.

their authority from them, as might well enough (be), now no man oweth obedience unto them."[1]

Here, then, it is explicitly admitted (what indeed could be ignorantly denied only after the lapse of centuries) that the jurisdiction of Rome had been till then acknowledged all over these islands; still it was contended that this was not *jure divino*, but only by man's ordinances; hence the argument was that Catholics had a right to withdraw from obedience to the Holy See, though not from any doctrine or sacrament that was part of Catholic Faith. Among the Dominicans who sided with the crown there was little enough sympathy with heresy against the doctrinal positions of the Church, but there was certainly a large body that did not realize what was really involved in separation from the Papacy. The position is stated as ably as possible in the so-called King's Book, which developed a theory of branch churches that angered deeply the reformers under Edward VI and Elizabeth, but served to bridge over the gradual change from Henry VIII's schismatic Church to the heretical Church of the post-Marian days.

Friars like James Cosyn, Prior of Winchester, who were suspected of Lollard tendencies, were straitly examined. Report quoted these words of his: "If thou put a whole stoop of holy water upon thy head, and another stoop of other water upon thy head, the one shall do thee as much good as the other in avoiding of any sin. As much other bread of thy own blessing shall do thee as much good as so much holy bread. And as for confession I will not counsel thee to go to any priest to be confessed, for thou mayest confess thyself as well to a layman, thy Christian brother, as to a priest, for no bishop or priest have any power to assoil any man of any sin; and I myself have shriven a woman this day in this Church, but I did not assoil her, neither will I never assoil none."[2] It was on 26 February 1536, that the accusation of Protestantism was made against him; by 24 April of the same year he had been set at liberty on accepting the authority of "our supreme head next to Christ, the King's grace."[3] Presumably, therefore, he threw over, if he had ever really held, the opinions reported of him, for it was Hilsey, as Bishop of Rochester (an unworthy successor to Cardinal Fisher, just twelve months earlier deprived of his See), who gave him licence and liberty to preach "the word of God sincerely."

Another whom we hear of as imprisoned for false doctrine was found on examination only to have taught that "all curates and priests should hereafter be more diligently examined of their learning," though the result of this would

[1] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. viii, p. 254.
[2] B.M. Cotton MSS., Cleopatra, E, IV, no. 85, fol. 127.
[3] P.R.O. *Lib. A.*, *T. R. S.*, fol. 230.

be, he quite realized, to reduce the clergy "to one priest only for one church." Here then again there is no real question of heresy, though Dr. London, who championed the cause of this "blackfriar of Northampton . . . in much misery this cold winter," adds ominously that the good friar refused "old fantasies and pious tales."[1] It is clear again, therefore, that there is no case observed so far of Protestantism, but only of subservience to the royal authority, and a complete acceptance of Henry's masterful headship. A good deal later, namely, in the reign of Elizabeth, come cases like Faithful Comyn, once a Dominican and later a Puritan preacher. But he stood alone, as far as we know, from the rest of the Province.[2] His examination before the Queen and Council is most amusing reading, for he had reasons ready for every question, and had repeatedly to be withdrawn from the Council before they were able to think of an answer and continue the argument with him. But we learn from it: Friar Comyn described himself as ordained priest by Cardinal Pole and since then having thrown up all forms of prayer, "misliking the Church of England as much as ever he misliked the Church of Rome." Eventually he was bound over to reappear, but on his reappearance was again put off as on that day the Spanish Ambassador had audience of the Queen who herself wished to preside over the trial. No longer on bail, Friar Comyn fled over sea to the Low Country and eventually got "clapt up in prison" by Pope Pius V, who sent for him and personally questioned the apostate. Even the Pope fell a victim to his charm, released him and presented him with money, "2,000 ducats for his labour," reported the English spies. Sought for in the Low Countries by royal officers from England, he was helped "into Romish holdings" where he was lost sight of, and presumably returned to the faith of his early years.

For the rest the English Dominicans made no attempt to join the Protestant party. Richard Ingworth offers himself merely to be Cromwell's host in the priory at King's Langley, promising him as good lodging and provision as he can, "and for a poor token I send to your Mastership a poor Suffolk cheese and half a dozen conies."[3] On 28 July 1538, he wrote to Cromwell: "God shall be my judge, my friar's heart was gone two years before my habit, save only my living."[4] Just since so short a time had the unsettlement begun. John Hodgkin, "which of late was Provincial of the Order of Blackfriars," implored Cromwell, "right honourable and most prudent," "to look with your eye of pity and let

[1] *Reliquary*, 1880, p. 31.
[2] B.M. Old MSS. (Clarendon MSS., Cod. XV), No. 4783, art. 43, fol. 101.
[3] *Reliquary*, 1879, p. 215.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 215, note a.

not your poor orator in decay which might yet a long time, God willing, do some service and always might be ready to do unto you such service and pleasure as ye would command him, whom ye shall find always to the King's majesty a faithful and true subject, and ever to do in the most lowly manner such service as he shall be commanded." It is all very unpleasant and cringing on John Hodgkin's part; but he was very poor, as were all the dispossessed religious, had no work to do, and was evidently overcome by his ill-fate; "a man in favour of the world hath many friends, but once depressed or cast down then none or few." He signed himself a "poor religious servant."[1] Eventually, both he and Stroddle were appointed to the See of Bedford, fellow Dominicans, yet jealous of each other, and fearing and uncertain of what was to be their lot. Hodgkin secured the Bishopric and Stroddle was intruded into Dartford as President over the Dominican nuns there. The good Prioress, Jane Fane, "the which hath been this forty-nine years unworthy governor of this poor house," wrote to Cromwell to protest against the appointment.[2] The Bishop of Rochester had had Stroddle to live with him, but finding they could not get on had prompted his removal to the nuns, where he was an incessant nuisance to the whole community: "and this great unkind deed my Lord of Rochester did, for he knew him better than I, and to put himself in quietness he hath put me far from it." In despair, since Cromwell would not relent, the nuns perforce put up with his company, granting him £5 a year in memory of his "good and faithful service."[3] This grant was enrolled in the Court of Augmentations some years later. Neither was Hodgkin much happier in his surroundings. The bishopric still left him "in much poverty and misery, the cause thereof hath been not being able to make suit to your good Lordship to have your favour, nor yet nor ever shall, unless it be by your noble and gentle heart, but continually depressed, standing ever in danger of your displeasure, which never did nor never will deserve, or to do anything whereby he should run in any danger of suspicion by any relation made at any time to your good Lordship. And if your prudence and high discretion hath esteemed and judged at any time that your said orator hath not done all his duty, nor so well as that he should at any time, he most meekly and lowly desireth of your noble heart and godly mind to ascribe his folly of ignorance and not of wilfulness, being now and at all times ready to do such service as ye shall think meet. Trusting that if he might once have such grace and comfort in your goodness as many

[1] Ellis, Series II, vol. xvii, no. 72: P.R.O. *R. P.*, [29½ Hen. VIII, p. 5, m. 32 (14).

[2] *Miscellaneous Books of Court of Augmentations*, vol. xcviii, fol. 118.

[3] Ellis, Series II, vol. viii, nos. 45 and 43.

a one hath, ye should perceive your said orator should, with the best of his power, after his wit and cunning, do as hearty and true service as he can to the furtherance thereof; your said orator hath now made labour to my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, all they making promises to be suitors to your Lordship, but yet trusting much more to your noble and gentle heart than in all that manner of suit your orator is thus bold to direct this supplication, and so end to be your true orator and diligent servant at your commandment. And thus I pray our Lord send you long life with continual prosperity."

Cromwell does not seem to have done anything for him. Later he managed to pick up some preferments, and under Edward VI married; on Mary's accession he professed penitence, repudiated his schism and his wife, and was admitted to the rectory of S. Peter's, Cornhill. Under Elizabeth he again conformed, recovered his prebend of Harleston attached to S. Paul's, which he had lost under Mary, but was removed from Cornhill.[1] He must have died somewhere about June 1560. Then again there was one Gregory Dodds, Prior of Cambridge, who surrendered the convent to the Visitors. Cranmer gave him a living in Kent, and this touch of favour set him going gaily up the hill of preferment. Subsequently he became Dean of Exeter, and as a member of Convocation signed the Thirty-Nine Articles and helped to push forward two petitions to the bishops, one for the disuse of curious singing and playing organs, of the cross in baptism and of copes and surplices, the other on behalf of the well-known *petition for discipline*. He died ten years later than Hodgkin in 1570.[2]

The fourth Dominican to become a bishop of the reformed Church, together with Ingworth, Hilsey, and Hodgkin, was another Cambridge friar, John Scory. In 1541 he was Cranmer's chaplain, and secured one of the six select preacherships in Canterbury Cathedral. That year, in a sermon there on Palm Sunday, he preached against crosses, blest candles, holy water, ringing of bells against thunder, the intercession of the saints, prayers in Latin, the consecration and rich ornamentation of churches. Under Henry he was in some peril for his extreme Protestant views; under Edward VI he prospered. He preached against Joan Bocher, who was condemned to be burnt for Unitarian opinions, and in his sermon set out to refute her; but she told him he "lied like a rogue and had better go home and study the Scriptures." However, he was in royal favour, was made Bishop of Rochester, then of Chichester, and by this time had got himself a wife. On the accession of Mary, he, like Hodgkin, repudiated both Protestantism and wife, and was allowed to exercise priestly

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, 1878, pp. 30-33.
[2] *Reliquary*, 1885, p. 211.

powers in London. At last he fled with his wife over sea to Geneva, and returning on Elizabeth's accession, was made Bishop of Hereford, in which office he died at a very advanced age in 1585.[1]

But there was one who, though not by birth an Englishman, gave a splendid example to his fellow friars in these islands. Bishop of Llandaff and confessor to Queen Catherine of Aragon, George Athequa of Aragon had accompanied the young princess on her first arrival in 1501. As her friend and official chaplain he soon got dragged into the divorce proceedings, and, alone of all the English Episcopate, voted with Bishop Fisher "the marriage in question was not against natural and divine law and that the Pope could dispense." Fisher was sent to the Tower, but Athequa, as a Spaniard and one of the few who could confess the Queen in Spanish ("in which speech she ever confessed and cannot be in any other, as she saith"), was allowed to remain in attendance on Catherine. Writing to Henry about him, the Duke of Suffolk describes him as a "man of most simplicity and shall do less harm to tarry and be her Ghostly father." He steadily refused to take the oath which acknowledged the validity of the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and thereby found himself in the inspiring company of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Still, imprisonment in his case meant merely that he was forbidden to leave his own house, though no restriction was set on his personal freedom, so that he was able to be by the dying Queen, saying Mass for her and communicating her. He attended her funeral, acting as deacon at the High Mass sung at Peterborough Cathedral, where she was buried. Then, endeavouring to escape out of the country disguised as a sailor, he was brought back and committed to the Tower. But Chapuys at last got him delivered and sent to Spain without molestation. Here in 1549 he died quietly in the great Dominican convent of Calatayud, where he had begun his religious life.[2]

While provincials were thus cringing to royal authority, though priors might preach and protest, it was to be expected that, of the other friars, some at least succumbed, though it is not easy to say to what extent they accepted the religious changes. Most of the houses of the South, Ingworth mentions as in "good order" and therefore needing no reformation, except that there was too much going out to say Mass, and thus the priories were not themselves properly served by the small communities that inhabited them. This was at Winchester,[3] but here the Prior of the Blackfriars

[1] *Reliquary*, 1885, p. 211.
[2] Gumbley, O.P., *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Feb. 1916. The name should really be *d'Ateca*.
[3] *Reliquary*, 1889, p. 213.

asked for leave to continue, as with them there was no such "celebration abroad." The Bishop of Winchester and "also the Mayor came and desired that the said Prior should have the house." Ingworth would give them no certain answer till he had heard from Cromwell. Subsequently he bade Cromwell refuse their request. But everywhere he found extreme penury, and expresses his fears about the friars who, at the suppression of the priories, would be turned adrift. The pensions were utterly inadequate and uncertain, so that only the priors who sold their convents and managed to make something that way would be able to support themselves. Yet he notes that all were willing to surrender to the King, despite the dark prospect that loomed ahead. Even the visitors themselves got little benefit out of their plunder, for "the poor people thoroughly in every place be so greedy upon these houses when they be suppressed that by night and day, not only of the towns but even of the country, they do continually resort as long as any door, window, iron or glass, or loose lead remaineth in any of them. And if it were so done only where I go, the more blame might be laid to me, but it is universally that the people be thus greedy for iron, windows, doors, and lead. In every place I keep watch as long as I tarry, and prison those that do thus abuse themselves and yet others will not refrain"; thus wrote John London after suppressing the friars' houses in Warwick in November 1538.[1]

In Worcester there was further opposition of an odd kind; from Gloucester the Bishop of Dover tells Cromwell: "Divers of the friars are very loath to forsake their houses, and yet they be not able to live, for I think for the more part of them, if all their debts should be paid, all that is in their houses is not able to do it. . . . Blackfriars at Worcester is a proper house without any lead, and may dispend by year in rotten houses about 20 nobles by year (not all is in decay). There was an ankress with whom I had not a little business to have her grant to come out, but out she is."[2] The sudden ending to the brawl between recluse and bishop suggests, in the clever phrasing of it, a dramatic and by no means silent exit.

At Rhuddlan, after giving an inventory of the goods of the Blackfriars there, the Treasury of Receipt of Exchequer records the following note: "the altar of alabaster, the stalls in the choir, and the bells in the steeple be not priced. There were two Kine and five hogs priced at 22*s*., and with the money the servants paid, and a bedridden friar provided for, and other young friars rewarded so that no penny was left, and corn was in the ground for which the Prior and friars paid the charges of the Visitor and so departed."[3]

[1] Ellis, Series III, vol. iii, p. 138.
[2] *Reliquary*, 1878, p. 28.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1886, pp. 119-120.

At Oxford the friars were reduced "to that conformable fashion of living as other honest priests do use."[1]

The main impression then to be gained from all this is that the English Province, as a whole, surrendered each of its houses, but did not accept the religious innovations of the King. The Provincial was on the side of the royal authority, the priors opposed it. The friars, set between their local and central leaders, generally did nothing, but escaped if they were able to, either over seas to France, or the Low Countries or Spain, or went North to Scotland or West to Ireland. Such as remained lapsed and drifted into poverty, or else entered the ranks of the secular clergy.[2] The Registers of the Master-General in Rome are only preserved for certain years, but give in their present fragmentary state much the same impression as the English official documents suggest, only they emphasize still more strongly the scattered result of the persecution. Under 1541 occurs this entry:

"Friar John Lyall has licence to remain in the Province of France or in the Province of Germany, and to receive the order of priesthood by permission of the prior of any convent who is willing to receive him and of celebrating mass"; under 1546, "To Master Richard Marshall and to Friar Henry dwelling in the Province of Scotland by letters patent, is given licence to remain with the Bishop of Brecon, outside the cloister, but wearing their habits, in such sort that they are not to be judged to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Order." Under 1547, "To Friar John of England, priest, in the convent of Chios, in the Province of Lombardy, it is granted that after he shall have been there two years, he cannot be held there against his will but has licence to leave the said convent and island and seek his superiors to whom he is commended."

After this disorganization of the Province came, during the short reign of Queen Mary, a brief interlude of rest. The beautiful church of S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, was handed to the Dominicans in 1555, where William Perin was instituted Prior by the Master-General, and made at the same time Vicar-General of the English Province as there was no machinery of election either for priorship or provincialate.[3] At the first outbreak of the schism Perin had found refuge in Flanders, returning, however, later to continue his degree work at Oxford and settling in London, though we have no record of his place of residence in the capital. Under Edward, the Protestant temper of the Government was too fierce for

[1] *Reliquary*, 1883, p. 216.

[2] The lost register of Master-General John de Ferrario (1532-1538) is said to have contained lists of two-thirds of English Province assigned to other provinces.

[3] *Merry England*, 1889, p. 360.

him and he escaped again into Flanders, but reappeared as Prior of the new foundation. His community seems to have consisted largely of foreign friars, so that it is difficult to know how far this venture can be looked upon as the work of the English Province. Perin, however, was a very zealous preacher, and three of his sermons were printed in England, 1546-1548: "Thre godly and most learned sermons of the most honourable and blessed Sacrament of the Aulter." He has left also a treatise on the frequent celebration of Mass, and some "Spiritual exercises and ghostly meditations." He died at Smithfield, and was buried by the high altar in the Priory Church.

To him succeeded Richard Hargrave, who was elected by the friars, though he was not an actual member of the community, since he was acting chaplain to the Dominican nuns at Dartford. The Master-General made him in Perin's place Vicar of the Province.[1] But meanwhile Mary died, and before the letters patent for him arrived from Rome, Elizabeth had begun to show her anti-papal sympathies. Religious life was prohibited, and once again the organization, such as it was, of the Province failed. The Sub-Prior, into whose hands the letters came, fearing the penalties of Praemunire, handed them to the Privy Council, with the result that Hargrave never occupied his post at S. Bartholomew's, but returned to Dartford, and thence with the nuns went into Flanders, till his death in 1566.[2]

Under Mary, two of the friars came into prominence as bishops. One, John Hopton,[3] was domestic chaplain to the princess during the reign of Edward VI. He had graduated at Oxford and at Bologna; returning to his old university he became elected Prior. In spite of his foreign travels he, for some reason, asked leave to preach in English at S. Frideswide's, instead of in Latin at S. Mary's, as was customary for the Divinity Doctorate. In 1533 he had completed all his examinations, and no doubt continued to teach until he was appointed to his Court Chaplaincy. He does not appear to have been molested under Henry or Edward. In 1554 the Queen named him Bishop of Norwich, but he died within a few weeks of the Queen's own death at the end of 1558, thus avoiding the troubles that followed. The other prelate was Maurice Griffiths, on whose behalf Hilsey wrote to Cromwell for leave and money to continue his studies at Oxford in 1534.[4] This is curious, for we know that on 5 July 1532 he was admitted Bachelor of Divinity, and 15 February 1533 Bachelor of Canon Law. It is difficult to conceive what further

[1] *Merry England*, 1889, p. 361.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 362-363; cf. *Oxford Dictionary*, Letter G, p. 103, col. 3.
[3] *Reliquary*, 1883, pp. 211-212.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 227; *D. N. B.*, vol. viii, pp. 677-678.

finishing he required, nor could it have been very easy for Cromwell to realize his position when Hilsey described him as "a poor scholar." After this he entered the ranks of the secular clergy, becoming Archdeacon of Rochester after 1536, and finally Bishop of Rochester. Here he followed Scory and Hilsey, who themselves had succeeded to Fisher. The only reason that one can suggest why Rochester should have been put into Dominican hands is that of economy, for at the Dominican Convent of Dartford they found a residence, cheap, congenial, and central.[1] Under Mary, who appointed him to his See, he showed himself zealous for the Faith, but had no further test put to the sincerity of his profession, since he died just later than his sovereign, but before Elizabeth had definitely broken with the Holy See.

Oxford during the same brief interlude saw once again Dominicans in her midst, for Peter Soto and John de Villagacia, from Spain, lectured there from 1555 to 1558 at Magdalen College.[2]

But these were the mere flickerings of the flame before all its brightness went out. From 1221, since the friars had first entered England till the end of Mary's reign in 1558, there had been a continuous Dominican life up and down the kingdom. The English Provincial ruled over a larger number of houses than did any other Dominican Provincial, for subject to him were fifty-three houses in his own borders, and almost to the close of the fifteenth century he administered Ireland and Scotland by means of his Vicars. There had been patiently built up a well-organized band of friars, with an education secured to them that could not be surpassed by any other religious in England. Learning and study were the proper purpose of the Order, for preaching and teaching were the particular form of its activity. Graded from priory to priory, from arts and science and philosophy and theology to the higher courses of the special university lectureships, the Dominican curriculum was unique in Christendom for its order, its thoroughness, and its high standard of attainment. Working out from this central power the Friars Preachers settled themselves deeply in the national life. They influenced public opinion in favour of representative government, and especially just that one form of it which became established in the British Constitution. As confessors of kings they took part, officially and unofficially, in the counsels of the realm; as ambassadors and messengers on the King's service they arranged treaties and staved off war, as cardinals in Rome and bishops within the realm they had their share also in ecclesiastical politics, defending English interests abroad and

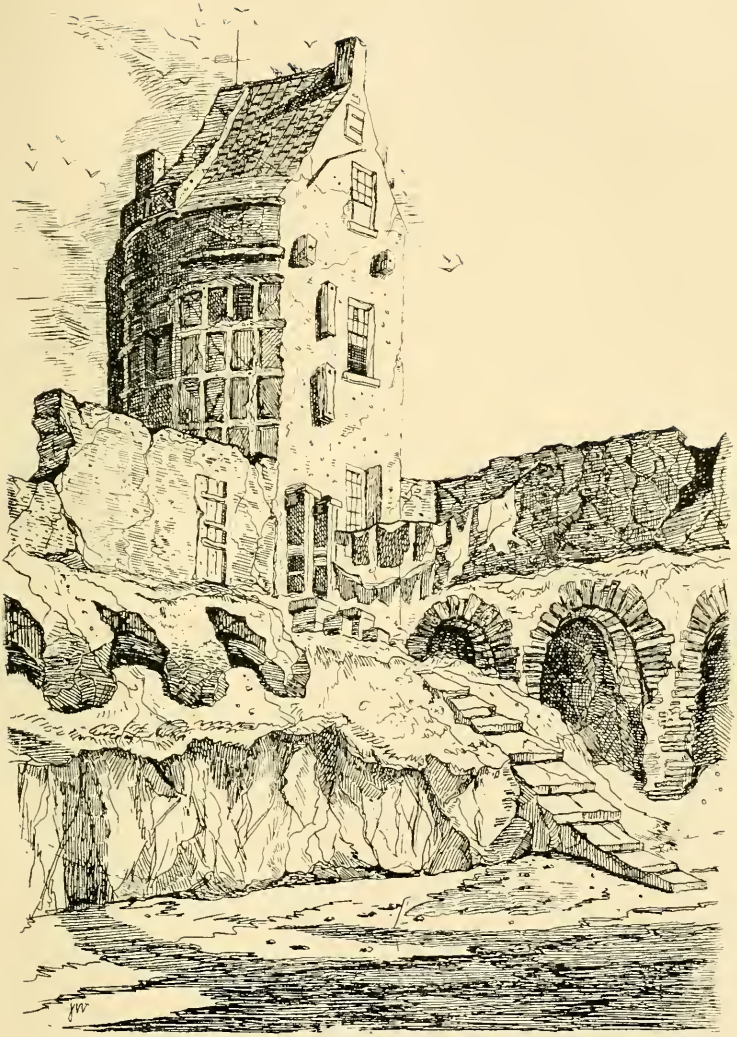
[1] Though now in the diocese of Canterbury, Dartford was in the diocese of Rochester during the whole time the Dominican nuns lived there.

[2] Antony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1721), p. 141.

Roman interests at home. In the more spiritual spheres of Catholic life they had also done no small work by preaching, confessing, writing, lecturing, stimulating the piety of their Christian people. Even beyond the borders of their own four seas, missionary enterprise had fired their adventurous ambition, and driven them over the mountains of Armenia and in the cities of Asia Minor, as again later it was to plant their successors as pioneer bishops in North America.

Then all this glorious edifice was down-toppled at the Reformation. The masterful brutality of Henry, the priggish piety of Edward, the craft and skilful strength of Elizabeth wholly defeated, and for a time destroyed, the patient labour of years.

On the other side we do believe that there must first have been some failure within to have allowed such influence and power without. But in the end, weakened within, struck at without, the fair upbuilding of the Province; its foundation, its adornment, its glory was broken down, so that of it to this day there hardly remains a stone upon a stone.



GREAT YARMOUTH, SOUTH-WEST TOWER OF DOMINICAN PRIORY

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CHAPTER IX

THE REORGANIZATION

THE sad last days of the English Province under Elizabeth are recorded by Father Richard Hargrave, Prior of S. Bartholomew's-in-Smithfield. His letter to the Master-General,[1] dated 1 October 1559, details the hopes entertained of Elizabeth, the sudden appearance of her Protestantism, the appointment of Visitors to the monasteries and convents re-established by Queen Mary, and the quick suppression first of religious life, and secondly of the Catholic Faith.

The English members of the Smithfield Priory who remained in England conformed, preferring in Hargrave's phrase "to remain in England and enjoy the flesh-pots of Egypt to being abject in the house of the Lord." The nuns of Dartford were more steadfast. They valiantly refused to accept the new oath and the new Church service, and together with Father Richard and three English Dominicans, in much poverty and with many hardships, sought asylum in Flanders.[2] The aged nuns (among whom was Elizabeth Wright, the half-sister of Bl. John Fisher, to whom he dedicated *A Spirituall Consolation . . . at suchetyme as hee was prisoner in the Tower of London*) went first to Antwerp, then to Dendermond, and finally settled in 1573 in the convent of Engelendael, near Bruges, where one by one they gradually passed to their reward. Hargrave appears to have lived on with them for some years, but had gone before they had entered among their Bruges sisters. For some time he had hoped, with the other three friars, to return to England and reorganize the scattered Dominicans. But in 1565 he died. He was succeeded in his office as chaplain and also as Vicar-General of the Province by Thomas Heskyns, O.P., who had accompanied the sisters in their flight; but he does not seem to have remained in Flanders as his predecessor had done, for we find it made a charge against Doctor Philip Baker, Provost of King's College, in 1569, that he had entertained "Dr. Heskins, the famous papist, being brought to his table at Cambridge in the dark and conveyed away in the dark again."[3] Moreover, the energetic Vicar-General took up his pen also in defence of the Faith, and replied to John Jewell's celebrated challenge at Paul's Cross in a quaintly titled work: *The Parliament of Chryste avouching and declaring the enacted and receaved Trueth of the Presence of His Bodie and Bloode*

[1] Pio, *Vite huomini illustri di S. Domenico*, p. 377, and *Diary of Henry Machyn* (Camden Society), p. 171.

[2] Pio, p. 377.

[3] Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics*, vol. iii, p. 292.

in the Blessed Sacrament and of other Articles concerning the same, impugned in a wicked sermon by M. Juel; collected and set forth by Thomas Heskyns, Doctour of Divinitie; wherein the Reader shall fynde all the Scripturs commonlie alleaged out of the Newe Testamente touching the B. Sacrament, and some of the Olde Testamente, plainlie and truly expounded by a Nombre of holy and learned Fathers and Doctours. Antwerpe 1566. Heskyns was a man of culture, having studied at Oxford and become a fellow of Clare Hall at Cambridge; in this last quality he protested against the amalgamation of his own college with Trinity. There are in all few references to him, but these few point clearly to his energy and his importance in English Catholic life. Bromley's *Catalogue of Engraved Portraits* mentions a portrait of him on wood. His death must have occurred while he was in England, for after 1570 he does not again appear.

Other names come and go, English Dominicans we know them to be, but have hardly had left to us more than their names: William Lester or Leslie or Lisle,[1] Alexander Rigby,[2] George Foster,[3] Henry Clithero,[4] the son of Bl. Margaret Clithero, that heroic woman whose steadfast martyrdom is one of the most glorious episodes in Catholic history. Two others also there were whom Fr. Parsons, S.J., rather unscrupulously declares in his *Memoirs*, dated 1598,[5] to have become apostates, Alexander Bayley and Friar Sacheverell. But to have entered the Order of S. Dominic was almost enough to have drawn from the pen of that zealous and narrow ecclesiastical politician a fierce invective and the accusation of heresy. As a matter of fact, Fr. Rivers, also a Jesuit, writing in 1602, says: "Bayley the Dominican is still kept close prisoner in the King's Bench."[6] That was on 15 October; and on 17 November he implies that Bayley had been set free and again recaptured: "Momford that was with Tyrone, and Bayley a Dominican friar, were this week apprehended in London and imprisoned." A year later Bayley was sentenced to perpetual banishment and is no more heard of. Sacheverell seems to have slipt out of all records, and we know only Parsons' strictures on him, but as he and Bayley are mentioned together by the Jesuit, it may well be that this so-called "apostate" was also a Confessor of the Faith. At any rate, Parsons' assertions by themselves carry no weight at all in such a case.

From time to time, from foreign priories, English friars,

[1] Knox, *Douay Diaries* (1878), vol. i, pp. 194, 197.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 154, 358.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 201, 202.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 232.
[5] *Catholic Record Society*, vol. ii, p. 208.
[6] Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of Society of Jesus*, vol. i, pp. 51, 52, 675.

one by one, came to labour at home in the hunted fashion of those heroic days. For many years we can trace only broken records of them, while the decrees of the General Chapters of the Order imply, without giving any details, the same hardly-maintained existence. But from 1570 till 1622 no reference can be found alluding at all to a Vicar-General of the Province, so that during that gap it is not known who actually administered and directed the Dominican missionaries in England. For a long time, however, the most prominent Friar Preacher in England was a Spaniard, Diego de la Fuente, confessor to Count Gondomar, Spain's ambassador at the court of James I. Despite his foreign birth, he was so popular with the English priests, that the assistants of the Archpriest Harrison, on the death of that prelate, petitioned for Diego to be made Bishop and head of the English Church.[1] Realizing, indeed, that such a dignity was no attraction to the friar, the clergy wrote in London a letter to him, beseeching him at least to put no obstacle in the way of such a happy consummation, for in him, almost alone, were all English Catholics agreed in recognizing a divinely chosen leader. But to John Bennet, the agent of the English clergy, Diego wrote, asking his aid and counsel to escape a honour which he judged himself wholly unworthy to bear.[2]

The English Dominicans desired no less that Friar Diego should become their superior also; but this too he declined, suggesting instead the name of Thomas Middleton, who had begun his missionary labours in England in 1617. Middleton, therefore, was appointed by the Master-General to rule the English Province, and for three and thirty years with energy, caution, and success did his best to establish it in a definite organization.[3] From his time onward there is no break at all in the succession, and the continuity of the English Province was assured. There is then, to repeat, just a stretch of fifty years, during which time we can as yet discover no definite superior of the English friars; from the last record of Thomas Heskyn in 1570, to the appointment of Middleton on 8 July 1622, a blank occurs which we cannot at present supply. Yet that such a lapse in the line of Provincials and Vicar-Provincials actually happened, does not seem probable, for in the registers of the Master-General (Seraphino Sicci) the new appointment is thus simply referred to: "At the instance of Father Master Didacus de la Fuente, Father Thomas Middleton, Englishman, was made Vicar of the brethren resident in England, with power to exercise that authority which Vicars of Congregations, according to the Dominican constitutions, have

[1] Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, vol. v, pp. ccclxvi and 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. ccclxvii.
[3] Palmer, *Obituary Notices of the Friar Preachers or Dominicans of the English Province from* 1650 (1884), p. 2.

over the friars subject to them."[1] No hint is given, no suggestion made as to this being a new departure, though at the same time it must be admitted we do not know who were his predecessors.

Thenceforward, however, we begin to have authentic records like this, taken from the register of the Dominican Convent of Ghent: "1626, 29 September, was clothed for the English Province in the habit of our Order, under Prior Father Peter *Wostynio*, Master of Sacred Theology, Father Reginald Michaelis, English priest, on the petition of the Vicar-General of England, Father Thomas Middleton. 1627, 3rd October, on the Feast of the Holy Rosary, was professed for the Province of England Father Reginald Michaelis, English priest, under Prior Father James Vanden Heede, Licentiate of Sacred Theology, and on the day following his profession he set out for England whither he had been called by the Vicar-General of England."[2]

In 1635, when Panzani visited England, he counted seven Dominicans of English birth.[3] This was a considerable fall in numbers apparently, and was very much below the average of the long reign of Elizabeth. The Vicar of the Province was evidently exceedingly disturbed by this decrease, and used his personal influence with Queen Henrietta Maria to organize a noviciate in London. Leave was obtained from Rome, and letters patent dated 24 June 1636 actually arrived in England,[4] but the disturbance of the great rebellion overthrew all plans for settled religious life in these islands. Indeed, the Vicar for his offence of being a priest, was himself seized and thrown into prison along with Fr. Peter Wright, S.J.[5] Against them appeared as witness Thomas Gage, an apostate Catholic, well known for his zeal for procuring the condemnation of priests. His brother, a priest, who naturally felt the personal shame of such infamous conduct, wrung a promise from the informer not to stain his hands with more innocent blood. As far as Father Middleton was concerned Gage kept his word, for though he asserted him to be superior of the Dominicans in England, he added that such an office need not imply the priesthood, since S. Francis had governed his Order while remaining a layman. The Lord Chief Justice admitted the plea, and the jury acquitted the prisoner. But against the Jesuit, Thomas Gage (as he declared in court), had some old grudge, occasioned by an ill turn done him by Fr. Wright, as he fancied, in prejudice of his brother, Sir

[1] *Register of Master-General Sicci* (Archives, Collegio Angelico, Rome), fol. 278.
[2] *Ex Registro Conventus Gandavensis*, fol. 16 *sqq.*
[3] B.M. Add. MSS., 15389, fol. 110.
[4] *Register of Master-General Rodolphus*, fol. 275.
[5] Foley, S.J., vol. ii, pp. 521-522; Tierney, vol. iii, p. 133; Challoner, *Memoirs*, vol. ii, pp. 349, 354.

Henry Gage, and for that reason certified him as a priest and Jesuit, and deposed that he had often assisted at the father's Mass. On the strength of this evidence, Fr. Peter Wright was condemned and martyred at Tyburn on 19 May 1651. The Dominican fellow-prisoner was deeply saddened at the turn of events, and, lamenting his own loss of the martyr's crown, wrote a eulogy of Fr. Wright. Four years later Fr. Thomas Middleton resigned office, and died on 18 May 1664, after having lived long enough to see the future of the English Province definitely and finally assured. Just for a brief period Fr. James Forbes, another Friar Preacher, held the position of Vicar of the Province, for he is declared so in the registers of the Master-General to the date of 17 April 1640, but it is quite possible that Forbes refused the responsibilities, for Middleton is mentioned as again Vicar almost immediately after.[1]

Besides Middleton and Forbes, we know who were Panzani's other five Dominicans then working in England, Fr. Thomas Catchmay, who succeeded Fr. Middleton in 1655;[2] Fr. William Fowler,[4] who lived in his family home at S. Thomas, near Stafford, where long were preserved two pictures of his, S. Dominic and S. Thomas; Fr. Robert Armstrong[3] (1603-1683), who left the English College in Rome to enter the Order, and lived many years in Hexham; Fr. Thomas Armstrong[5] (1607-1662), the younger brother of Robert, established a mission at Stonecroft, not far from Hexham, where he closed his life just a year before his brother; and Fr. David Joseph Kemeys, who, with Fr. Middleton and Fr. Catchmay, laboured almost all his life in London.[6] Like so many others of his brethren, Fr. Kemeys was a prisoner for the Faith; and even died in Newgate for his supposed participation in the monstrous plot devised by Titus Oates. Previously to this Fr. David had been for many years confessor to the Countess of Arundel, who was still alive in 1675, when her son, Philip Thomas Howard, was created Cardinal. To bear her congratulations to her son, Fr. Kemeys journeyed that year to Flanders; else all his days were spent in England.

Besides these seven Friars Preachers, who represented in failing numbers the glories of older times, carrying with them traditions and privileges that had arisen or been given in the prosperous past, there were others still of the English nation who remained in foreign convents and never came across the seas on the adventure of Faith, friars like gentle Gregory Lovel, who never left the priory at Ghent, where he had received the habit, and where his simple and austere English piety edified his brethren: "O dearest brothers," he said, as he lay dying, "if you knew how tender and delicate divine

[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 2. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

grace is, you would carefully guard against even the least transgression of the Rule and Constitutions from one breaking of the silence."[1]

But the failure to establish a noviciate in England rendered the existence of the Province extremely precarious. There was little hope now of the re-establishment of public religious life, as had seemed possible through the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and there was therefore no definite supply whence to England could come the English friars. The older fathers were living solitary lives: the young naturally were attracted to other Orders where, amid their own countrymen, they could be trained for the difficult but inspiring work of the English mission. Just when all seemed at its lowest, God sent into the vineyard one who by temperament, family connections, and wealth was eminently fitted from the material standpoint, and by grace from the spiritual standpoint, for the work of organizing for the future days of peace the English Dominican Province. Philip Howard, whose brother succeeded to the Dukedom of Norfolk, a boy of dogged determination, slow, equable in temperament, courageous, generous, endowed with a certain native piety and some happy gift for the management of affairs, restored the scattered and failing Province, and insured its life.

Born on 21 September 1629[2] in Arundel House, while Reubens actually was a guest busy painting a portrait of the grandfather, the Earl of Arundel,[3] and till his eleventh year brought up in the luxury and refinement of that exceptionally artistic home, Philip followed the ordinary course of English education. Tutors, according to the custom of that day, were engaged for him till he was old enough to go to S. John's College, Cambridge, which, however, was sufficiently early in life, for he was entered with his two brothers as fellow-commoners in 1640. Of course it is quite possible that Philip merely had his name entered on the rolls and never attended the University at all, for in 1641 he accompanied his grandfather and grandmother, who were commissioned to escort Queen Henrietta Maria abroad, and in February of 1642 he again went abroad with the Earl and Countess, who finally left England with the Queen. Though the Earl of Arundel was by title the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the kingdom, his temperament was artistic rather than military, and found the continent more comfortable than his native land during the Civil War between King and Parliament. Neither Earl nor Countess ever returned to England. The whole family settled down at Antwerp, where was the most brilliant assembly of European culture at the time. It was the very hey-

[1] *Belgia Dominicana*, p. 101.
[2] *Life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P.*, p. 79.
[3] Max Roose, *Reubens* (French translation), p. 310.

day of the great Flemish revival of painting and printing and architecture, not perhaps an idealist movement, nor wholly free from false sentiment and coarse realism, yet, for all that, at the time the most alive and rich in expression.

The boy's temperament was something wholly different from his grandfather's. The Earl had from 1615 conformed to the Established Church in England, and though his King was in peril, and though he was the King's official General, he remained out of his country during the period of its most fatal war. There seems to have been little steadfastness in such a character, yet Philip at least, whatever else he lacked, had no lack of steadfastness. His determination to become a Dominican as soon as he came across an Irish Friar at Milan, was at once opposed by the whole family. It seemed a small thing, the personal affair of a young boy, an exile on a journey, for he entered the Order of S. Dominic at Cremona on 28 June 1645, being just three months short of sixteen years of age. A small thing indeed, the act of a boy to determine his own manner of life! The Earl was furious. He wrote to the Countess whom he had left at Antwerp, telling her "the saddest news of Philip." He sent his agent, John Digby, to Rome to gain Pope and Cardinals and convict the friars "of impudency and misbeseeming proceedings" in having received into their number his grandchild. Even that nothing might be neglected, the boy's brother Henry was sent to use personal appeal; "I had two or three hours talk with him in the garden alone, and I think I told him as much, and as many, and as strong reasons and persuasions as I could possibly think of, and could not move him to anything. Only when I chid him for his disobedience, and told him how unkindly your Excellency took it at his hands, he seemed to be somewhat moved to hear how much your Excellency grieved at his loss, yet not with the least intent ever of quitting his habit, telling me how fully he was resolved to pursue his firm purpose through life." The Nuncio at Brussels was pressed by the Countess into the service of her Lord; a memorial was presented by the whole Howard family petitioning the Sovereign Pontiff to exclude Philip from ever entering any religious Order without the clearest and most emphatic papal approval.

But Philip had also his protests to make, and these were no less energetic than the others. To quiet his family he had been removed from his convent. He was now allowed to return to San Sisto, a famous Dominican Priory in Rome, whence he sent the following touching letter to his old grandfather:

"Dear Grandfather,

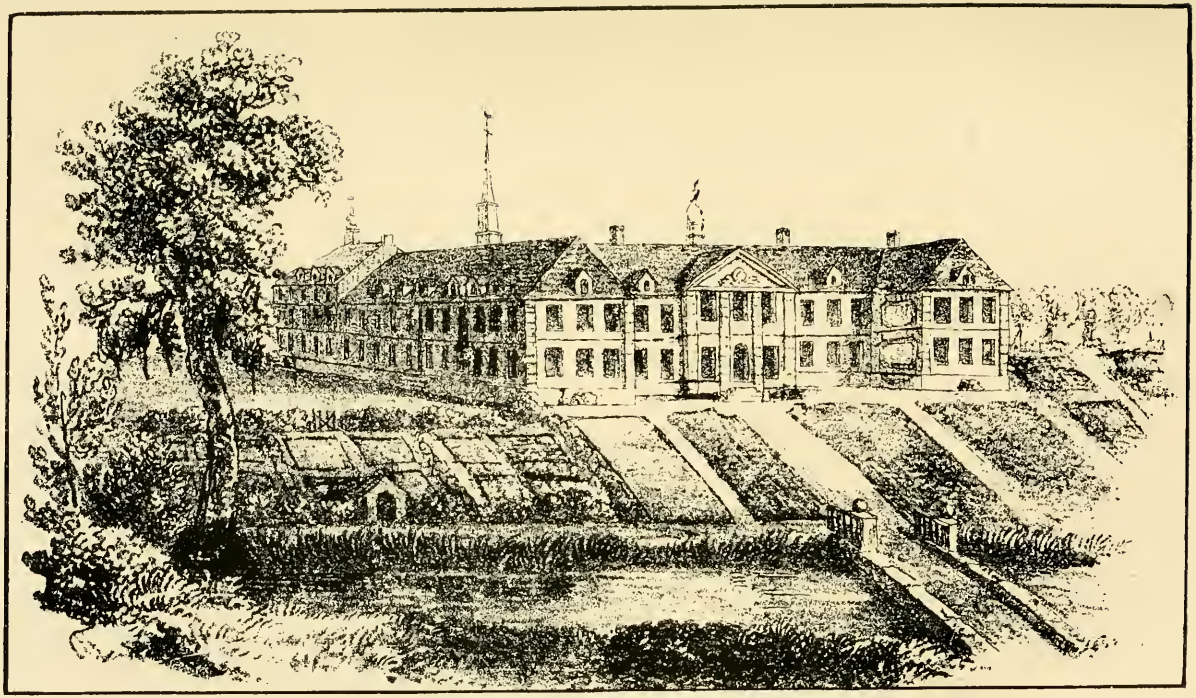
"With this occasion of my dear brother's returning back to Your Excellency, I could not do less than write these

lines unto Your Excellency to let you understand how sorry I am that Your Excellency taketh it so ill that I have made myself a friar; for God Almighty knoweth that I would never have done any such thing if He had not called and inspired me thereunto. Therefore I humbly desire Your Excellency may be assured that I do not fail in praying daily both for you and all my parents. Therefore, humbly craving your pardon, both for this and all the rest of my offences and humbly desiring your blessing, I remain always, from our Convent of San Sisto, this 22nd of January 1646, Your Excellency's most dutiful and obedient grandchild

"Friar Thomas Howard,
"Of the Order of Preachers."

Pope and Cardinals and the Dominican Master-General were all dragged into this simple affair of a boy of sixteen who would be a friar. Even John Evelyn, gossip-in-chief to English social life, caught and noted the echoes of it: "It was an Easter Monday that I was invited to breakfast at the Earl of Arundel's. I took my leave of him in bed where I left that great and excellent man in tears on some private discourse of crosses that had befallen his illustrious family, particularly the unhappiness of his grandson Philip turning Dominican Friar."

Finally the boy finished what remained of his noviciate in the company of the Oratorians in Rome, and thenceafter was no longer interfered with. At once then he set to work on his ideal of establishing the English Province in its full organization. As a novice he pleaded the cause on which his heart was set before a General Chapter of his Order, asking that all the English friars scattered abroad in the various priories, to which the chance of exile led them, might be gathered together into one convent, whence surely could be fed the English mission. At Rennes he laboured for some time from 1650 to 1652, when he was ordained priest at the age of twenty-three. From Rennes he journeyed through Paris to Brussels searching out a convent and studying the traditions of the Order as he found them alive in the provinces through which he passed. He has left on record his dislike for what seemed to him the excessive devotion of the French to minute points of regulation, finding among the Flemish more of that width and elasticity of spirit which he most desired to foster among his own people. As part of the same experience, many years later in Rome he forcibly declared in the English College against the education there in vogue, for the young ecclesiastics came over the seas as boys, forgetting quickly in a foreign land their native language, and becoming versed in many knowledges and sciences save such as they most needed for the conversion of their countrymen. Their



ENGLISH DOMINICAN COLLEGE, AT BORNHEM IN FLANDERS

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sermons, he asserted, were but the faulty translation of Spanish and French and Portuguese, done badly into their own tongue. Some such fear as this made Father Thomas Howard (as his name was in religion) careful in his choice of place and spirit for his convent. Then he journeyed to England to inspect the field of labour which was in his ambitions to engross all his life, and to the more careful spiritual harvestry of which his plans were now being directed.

But a letter written in this earlier time, though not of importance, is of interest. He describes going to Antwerp in 1656, and watching a French engineer enter a strange submersible boat which sank, and so hidden from sight beneath the sea could pass for no short distance. He even accompanied his letter to the Master-General with a sketch of this submarine at which he notes the English exiles stand "gaping on the shore with open mouths." Unfortunately the sketch has perished.

Once in England all his energies were devoted to the business he had most at heart. He visited the Vicar-General in London in 1656, and conferred with him and the other English missionaries as to what was to be done. They eagerly took up his project of a house in Flanders solely for the English Province, and without jealousy or any suspicious prophecy of failure, backed his enterprise with all the means in their power. Fr. William Fowler gave £200, hoping himself to end there his days, but in the end death prevented him. The others agreed to collect money and subjects to help on the great design. There is something almost pathetic in this kind welcome extended by these old men to their young colleague whose age was only twenty-six. They had borne the heat and burden of the day, and lived just long enough to see a younger generation reap the great reward.

But of course Fr. Thomas laboured himself to raise the funds necessary for the enterprise. From his own patrimony principally, but also from friends, the considerable sums required for the buying or building of a convent were finally secured, so that in 1657 he returned to Flanders. During his absence several Flemish Dominicans had inspected and overseen a number of possible places for him, and their kindness allowed him almost immediately to settle on Bornhem in East Flanders, midway between Antwerp and Aalst. Difficulties—legal, political, personal—were eventually overcome, and the convent accepted for the English Province on 15 December 1657. Just later Father Thomas Howard was instituted by letters patent its first Prior. Thus after the lapse of almost one hundred years, from the suppression of Smithfield Priory on 12 July 1559 to the erection of Bornhem Convent into a Priory on 17 April 1658, once more English Dominicans were

gathered together in community life under a superior of their own nation, and at once other friars began to arrive to people the new cloisters. Several young men had come over from England, sent by one or other of the fathers there on the mission; these were left at Brussels, but others were called out from their foreign convents: from Louvain came Fr. William Collins, from Brussels Fr. James Lovel, from Bohemia Fr. Thomas Fidden, from Toulon Fr. Thomas Molineux, from Brittany Fr. Vincent Torre. Soon every cell in the priory was filled, and the accustomed round of conventual life properly lived. Still, several other English Dominicans abroad, for one reason or other, preferred to stay on in the convents they had already entered. Of these the most celebrated was George Goring, Charles I's dashing cavalry leader and most profligate wit. After the ruin of the King's cause and the death of his wife, he joined the Spanish army, where his military success was of the same unsteady and uncertain character as it had been in England. Eventually, however, he threw over his worldly and rather notorious life and entered among the Dominicans of Spain, dying there just about the very time when Bornhem Convent was being established.

But Fr. Thomas Howard was finding work even outside his convent, since the Court of Charles II was now moved to Brussels, where the King had frequent counsel with him. Indeed, the good friar was sent into England in May 1659 to raise troops and generally engineer a rising in favour of the Stuart cause against the young Protector, Richard Cromwell. But his colleague in the revolt, an English Carthusian, revealed the plot which ended in the abrupt suppression of the Cheshire revolt, and the hasty departure of Fr. Thomas from England in the dress of a Polish retainer, amongst the curious entourage of the Polish Ambassador.

On his return Fr. Howard set to work at once on two other projects for the complete and abiding establishment of the English Province, a school for boys and a convent of Dominican nuns. It is really interesting to notice how very thoroughly this young prior arranged the basis of his Dominican campaign. Spiritually and temporally it was to be buttressed up. The boys in the school were to form a recruiting ground for the Order, such as the Jesuits, Benedictines, and secular clergy had already secured abroad, the nuns to defend with their arm of prayer their brethren out in the battlefield. By 1660 the college was opened with six boys, one of them being Esmé Howard, the prior's youngest brother. The steady increase of pupils enforced additions to the buildings, both in 1660 and in 1662; after which date Fr. Thomas Howard transferred himself to England and the Royal Court, being appointed almost immediately after the

marriage to the post of confessor to Queen Catherine of Braganza. In the meanwhile Fr. Vincent Torre was acting as superior, and generally disturbing the whole community by his individual ideas rigorously enforced. He suppressed the college, which he considered detrimental to the religious calm of the cloister, though the fathers were furious at this act, and in their Chronicle that remains, express with exceeding force their condemnation of his policy. As soon as he could be got out of office, the college was restarted and gradually reorganized, though coming later upon evil times. But in 1703 the school took on a new lease of life. Nearly all the Catholic families of England came to be represented among the list of scholars, and names and addresses of the guardians from "my Lord of Portland" and "Sir Henry Tichborne of Rue de Krouge, Rheims" to "Capt. Howell of 49 Great Hermitage Street, Wapping" and "Mr. Nowlam of Keate Street near Whitechapel," illustrate the widespread area whence the boys came, though as a matter of fact almost all were from London, or at least noted with a London address. Without this school it is difficult to say how the Province could have at all survived. The boys wore a quaint uniform, cassock, black girdle, leather knee-breeches, long stockings, buckled stock and bands, shoes with buckles, and a hat. Their accomplishments were varied, including dead languages and dancing, "french, fencing, and musick." Hence fiddles and flutes figure in the bills, the dulcet tones of which must have been helped out by the croaking of a raven, and the combined concerts of "two dogs and a monkey," these last having been contributed by three Master Hunts and Master Charles Neale. The raven was a mysterious apparition, for from 1721 back to 1666 it had been well known to every generation of boy at Bornhem. In 1771 the college was rebuilt so as to accommodate 150 students. Lord Stourton, Lord Dormer, the Earl of Fingall, and Sir Henry Eglefield, together with Mr. John Wade, a merchant of Leeds, were the chief benefactors.[1]

The suppression of the Jesuits was quickly followed in Flanders by an edict of the Austrian Privy Council, whereby the English Dominicans were put in charge of Bruges College (now Stonyhurst). The head master of Bornhem refused, but was overruled by an Imperial Edict, dated 8 October 1773. But the boys were as resolved as the Dominicans to prevent its being carried into effect, and indulged in wild riots, dashing to pieces tables, desks, chairs, and windows—indeed, thoroughly enjoying themselves in being able to create confusion in the interests of the school. The Austrian Government introduced into the college soldiers and some religious

[1] *Merry England*, Feb., 1889, p. 30; MSS. in archives at S. Dominic's Priory, London.

brothers who had the charge of madhouses, and endeavoured by force to compel the boys to submit. Whereupon the Dominicans, refusing to countenance such an insult to the boys, withdrew. The boys fled. The college was closed. This interlude, while it disturbed the teaching staff at Bornhem, in no wise interfered with the success of the school there. One of the most triumphant head masters that Bornhem ever had was Fr. Lewis Brittain, a convert. For eighteen years he guided it through many difficulties, being a teacher of no mean skill. His *Rudiments of English Grammar*, printed by J. L. Urban in 1778, went into a second edition in 1790, and received this commendation from John Walker, the lexicographer: "Dear Sir, You sent me your 'Grammar' in manuscript to peruse, which I did with great pleasure. It was printed some time afterwards, when I again perused it with increased pleasure; and having lately an intention to write a grammar myself I again consulted it with much advantage. . . . I propose mentioning your 'Grammar' in that I intend to publish." [1]

The French Revolution ended the career of the school by making it impossible as a residence for English boys. Flemish scholars, however, were still admitted, and the numbers maintained, but the fathers speedily lost interest, and in 1794 fled over the sea to England. Here at Carshalton the school revived, and its story there will be shortly told in the last chapter.

The other project which Fr. Thomas Howard had no less in view as an integral part of the Province, was a Convent of Nuns of the Second Order, who are by their profession given over to the work of contemplation.[2] In 1660 leave for the establishment of such a convent was obtained from the Master-General. Antonia Howard, the Prior's cousin, was sent to another Dominican convent near by to learn the life and pass her noviciate, "she being," says the Chronicles of the English nuns, "the first English that had to our knowledge taken the habit of our Holy Father S. Dominic since the unhappy fall of religion in England." From this convent three Flemish nuns, to help in the foundation, accompanied Antonia Howard (Sister Catherine was her name in religion) and another novice, Elizabeth Boyle, a convert, to Vilvorde, and there in a private house the five set up a convent. Three months later the Howard girl died, professed on her deathbed. During a trance that preceded her departure by only a few hours she declared herself to behold God's Mother, offering to her a rosary and a crown; "and presently after with a pleasant smiling countenance she left this wretched life (as we have great reason to hope) to pass into eternal felicity."

[1] MS. letter, S. Dominic's Priory, London.
[2] *Life of Philip Thomas Howard*, p. 119.

In 1669 the nuns moved to a castle-like house in Brussels, which went by the name of Spellekens, as it had once been a pin factory. By this time six English choir sisters and a Flemish lay-sister made up the community. But as years passed the numbers gradually increased and remained steadily assured, though never constituting a large convent. When the Emperor Joseph II suppressed all convents not engaged on active work, the sisters were obliged to open a school in order to be allowed to continue undisturbed, till the French Revolution broke up the convent as it had broken up the boys' school. Soldiers ransacked the establishment, pillaged the chapel after carefully removing the Blessed Sacrament, and made off with all the food they could find. Even the nuns' veils and mantles were removed to adorn the tattered uniforms of the ragged soldiers of the Republic. For a while it was uncertain whether France or Austria would triumph in Flanders, and the nuns lingered at Brussels to await the turn of fortune. But by June 1794 there was no longer any doubt. From Bruges and the neighbourhood the English communities were in flight; at last the sisters left Brussels and fled to Bornhem. From here, after a short respite, they set out for England. In two carts the more aged and sick of the religious had been sent forward, the rest following on foot. The ship set sail from Rotterdam on 9 July, and reached the Thames in safety on 16 July; the Provincial met them and led them to a house in Seymour Street, Portman Square, where lodgings were secured them at five guineas a week. Thence through the kindness of the two daughters of John Berkely of Hindlip (later Mrs. John Canning and Lady Southwell) the nuns moved to Hartpury Court, near Gloucester, on 28 August 1794, where a school was begun but abandoned in order that the sisters might be able to adopt the strict contemplative life required of the Second Order of Dominicans. In September 1839 they moved to Atherstone, in June 1858 to Hurst Green, near Stonyhurst College by the edge of the boys' cricket field, and in 1866 to Carisbrooke through the munificence of the Countess of Clare, who among the sisters spent her last days.

The following "Doleful memorandum written by Sister Ann Busby, Prioresse 1709,"[1] from the original manuscript in the archives of the Dominican Convent of Our Lady of Reparation and S. Dominic, Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, tells its own tale:

"Upon Tuesday in holy weeke, it being the seventh of Aprill 1705, Was stollen out of the Tabernacle of the English Dominican Nuns in Bruxells the Remonstrance with the Bd. Sacrament in it. Which was a very great grief and affliction

[1] MS. in archives, S. Dominic's Priory, Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight.

to our Community. we had continuall prayers six weekes together, Singing for this intent every day the great Littanis, and littanis of our Bd. Lady. Prayers to St. Antony of Padua, &c. The Bishop commanded for this intent three Prayer days all o're the Towne, with the Exposition of the Bd. Sacrament; and in our Church it was Exposed six days; and our Church all this time Mourn'd in Purple from Easter to Ascention. We fasted with bread and water two fridays, Everyone from the Eldest to the youngest, sitting the whole time of Table upon the ground, that God would be pleased to manifest to us the Sacraledgous Thiefe, and the Bd. Sacrament might be restored to us againe. And upon a Saterday night, the 16 of May 1705, Mr. John Jacobs, a Mason-Master and Deacon of the Trade (and our near neighbour)—Was ceased upon and put in prison in Steenport, upon the suspition of the fact. and after he had bin in prison three days, he Confest twas he had stollen the Remonstrance; which he might doe easier than another, for he served our Mass when ever he would, and we confided in him like a Domestick. his father and himselfe had bin our Massons six and thirtie years; and he was that very day he Stole it, in actuall worke for us.

"After he had confest his sacriledge to the Judges and Majestrats he told them he had broke and melted most of the Silver, and the Gold Jewells about the Remonstrance, (as proved true). Some he had sold to severall goldsmith, which brought them to great trouble and Law suits; the remainder of what was left Jacobs had buried under ground in his Garden, that non could find them but himselfe; so that the Amptman, and Judges brought him out of Prison in the night, to discover where he had buried them. And there in his Garden he opend three or four places, where the remainder of the Jewells and the foot of the Remonstrance was; and he had planted Trees, and other things upon the places wher he had buried them, so that no body but himselfe could ever a found them out. But he would not Confesse what he had don with the Bd. Sacrament, tho he was rackt to tell it. Some times he sayde he had put it in one place, some times in an other; but never told the truth.

"The things in the Garden being found out, the next day there came such a multitude of people to view and see the places in the Prisoner's garden, where he had buried the foot of the Remonstrance, and some part of the Jewells belonging to it, that the streets were covered with men, woemen, and children from four a clocke in the Morning till nine at night,—some rushing into the garden, others looking through the Hedges on all sides, that a guard of Soldjers that was put there to keep the garden could not keep them off, so great was their curiosity; and many of them gave mony to the Soldiers to let them into the gardin, that they might the better

sattisfie their curiosity. this concourse of people lasted about ten days, till the Criminall was put to death.

"After all his Process was ended, he received his sentence of death upon the 26 of May 1705; and the same day he wrote a letter to our Community to beg pardon for this great crime, and for all he had don against us; and another to our Confessor, who was the Very Rd. Father Ambroise Grymes, then Provinciall of England, whom we had the honour to have for Confessor. This letter of the Prisoner was likewise to beg his Rce. pardon; and were both writ in his owne hand.

"On the 27 of May, about ten a clocke, John Jacobs the Prisoner was brought in a cart, bare-headed, there being a Jesuit with him; and thus with a great Guard of Soldiers on Horsback all armd: some riding before the cart, others behind, till he was brought before our Church dore, and there tied to a post, put in the ground for that purpose, being stript to the wast, was whipt with three rods. Then they put him on a Pitcht coate, and so he returnd in the same cart to the Market-place, where a scaffold being made for him, he there againe confest, and at each corner of it demanded pardon of the whole assembly for all the scandall he had given, and for his sacraledgous theft; and said these words:

"'Looke or search, no more, for the Holy Host which I stole, for I tooke it in my sinfull mouth, for which I am sorry.'

"These his last words were believ'd; being seconded by his Confessor, the Jesuit, who helpt him to die.

"Then his right hand was cut off, and he being strangled, was then burnt; and his burnt body carried to a place out of Towne cald the Three Towers, there exposed to the view of all the World.

"As soon as we could, we made a new Remonstrance, which weighs 134 ounces at $55\frac{1}{2}$ Stivers the ounce

"Makes in all	373-2
"For the workmanship, at 30 Sti. the ounce: .	201-14
"For the 2 Cristals	001-1
"for the graving & gilding the Exce Panis & halfe Moon.	004-10
"for enchasing severall stons	30-18
"totall same	611-3

"When the Remonstrance was made, it was carried to Sainte Gudule to have the Bd. Sacrament put into it, it being the great church of our Parish; and there all the Orders met together; where the Cannons of Ste. Gudule, and all the Orders came in Procession to accompany the Bd. Sacrament to our church in the new Remonstrance; where the Te Deum

was sung by our Religious, our Church Bell ringing the whole time. Tantum Ergo was sung by the Cannons accompanied with Musick wich fild our hearts with joy, and our eyes with tears. We had Drums and Trumpets & Commers, (which resound as loud as Cannons) to wellcome our great God and King. Never any such Procession had bin seen in our Street before, which was hung with Tapestrie and devout Picturs from the Street to our Church Dore. And our Church was Richly adorn'd and severall new things made for the Alter express for this Solemnity.

"The Pope granted a Plennary Indulgence on Easter Monday to all the faithfull that shall visit our Church on that day; where the Bd. Sacrament will be exposed from morning to Evening in memory of this sad and dolefull action.

"And these Indulgences are to be renewed every seven years. The first year of the Indulgence was dated the 25th of June 1706. All praise be to God for Ever.

"After some years, the half-moon, where the Bd. Sacrament stands, in our new Remonstrance, was changed into betten Gold; and all the Juells about it are true stones; so that the half-moon is now of considerable vallue.

"All praise be to God."

But the organization of these two establishments did not prevent Fr. Howard from devoting himself, as steadily as before, to the English Mission. In 1661 Father Thomas Catchmay, with that unselfishness which marked the whole attitude of the older fathers towards the young Prior of Bornhem, resigned the Vicar-Provincialate, soliciting the General to nominate Thomas Howard in his place.[1] The letters patent arrived, dated 24 July, and straightway the new Vicar left for England. Here his work lay mostly near the Court, where his uncle was Lord Almoner to the Queen, and he the Queen's chaplain with lodging at Whitehall. Four years later he succeeded to the post of High-Almoner, where his energy for the Faith began to display itself in a way distasteful to the Protestants. He reconciled to the Church a Canon of Windsor, he published papal bulls of indulgences to be gained by the devotion of the Rosary, and he took no small part in persuading Charles II to publish the Declaration of Toleration. All this roused such a fierce storm of hostility that at the royal desire he withdrew to Flanders, carrying with him money from the King and Queen for the exiled Catholics in Belgium.

Meanwhile he found that English novices had come into Bornhem in large numbers. So full was the convent with religious that an attempt was made to establish another priory at Dieppe. When that failed the Dominican Church at

[1] *Life of Philip Thomas Howard*, p. 124.

Tangiers, which had passed into an English possession as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, was given to the English friars, but was subsequently relinquished to the Irish Province. Then Antwerp was thought of and failed. Eventually, however, the convent and church of SS. John and Paul in Rome, and, on their surrender, a house of studies at Louvain, became the only other places where regular religious life was maintained by the English Province.

But in the meantime a very great event had taken place, for Father Howard was created Cardinal Priest of S. Cecilia in Trastevere in 1675. This naturally gave him far more power and opportunity for pushing forward his English projects. On the death of Cardinal Francesco Barbarini, Cardinal Howard became protector of England; as such he helped extensively in the building of the English College in Rome, and his own State apartments formed part of the College. In April 1685, through his representations, the title of Provincial, which had been borne by a member of the council of the Master-General, and had become a merely titular appellation, was now restored, together with the office, to the English fathers, though owing to the difficulties that attended Catholic life in England, it was not possible to arrange for an election to the Provincialate as the democratic constitutions of the Order presume. The General Chapter held in May 1694 in Rome, ordained that those English fathers, whose labours made them deserving of honour, might be nominated priors of the ancient ruined priories of England, and thereby with such show of representative government as the times allowed proceed to elect a Provincial.[1] A chapter of this description met in 1712, but the right of nomination to the Provincialate was still left to the Master-General till 1718, when three names were submitted for his determining choice. However, in 1730, regular Provincial Chapters began to be held under Father Thomas Worthington, first at Mr. Beasley's, the lodgings of Father Burgis, in London.[2] At his house, therefore, in the April of that year, in Panton Street, near Leicester Fields, and in 1734 at Mr. Barton's in Holborn, the capitular fathers from all over England, chiefly, that is, from the north, east, and south-west, in the snuff-coloured and drab garments that the clergy then affected, assembled as representatives of the Province, past, present, to come. Thence onwards till our time, at the canonical period of four years, they have been solemnly held with unfailing regularity, except in 1746, when the last determined effort of the previous year to upset the Hanoverian Succession, and its complete failure to re-establish the Stuarts on the throne, made the meetings of reputed Jacobites unwise. This necessitated extreme caution on the

[1] *Acta Cap. Gen.*, vol. viii, pp. 304-305.
[2] *Acta Capitulorum Provincialium*, privately printed, London, 1918.

part of the Friar Preachers, who were certainly, on the whole, devoted to the cause of the Pretenders.

Long before this date, Cardinal Howard, in his will still testifying his devotion to the Province and the nuns, had died in Rome 17 June 1694, having lived out of his sixty-four years, forty-eight as a Dominican, forty-two as a priest, and twenty as a Cardinal. His going, though it sorrowed, did not affect the life of the English friars. By this time, through his means, the Province had become too firmly fixed to be thus easily disturbed. Several members of the Province had, indeed, been caught in the meshes of persecution, but to their distress none suffered the violent death of martyrdom. Father Middleton had been in prison in 1628, and remained in the Clink till 1635; he was again in confinement in 1641, when Fra Theodoro della Pieta wrote to the General from London on 7 August; and had only a short respite between 1643 and 1651, when his name once more occurs on the list of the Newgate criminals.[1] Father Martin Russell, the first follower of Cardinal Howard, while working at Little Malvern, his family seat, was arrested for his supposed complicity in the Titus Oates plot, when the subjoined amusing interview between him and Bishop Croft of Hereford, an apostate Catholic, took place. Father Russell, as a young boy of nineteen, had fought for Charles II at Worcester. The Bishop began by asking how he was bred.

Fr. Russell. When a little one, I have heard people say, I was reared like other children with milk and pap; when I grew up I remember a butterum and a piece of cheese served.

Bishop Croft. This is not to our purpose: I ask your education.

Fr. Russell. When I was grown up I served my King and fought for him in Worcester battle where you durst not show your face.

Bishop Croft. You were educate beyond seas, were you not?

Fr. Russell. I hope my Lord, that is no crime; your Lordship was so too.

Bishop Croft. What did you study there?

Fr. Russell. How to get back again. I served the King at Tangiers, and suffered there much for his sake.

Bishop Croft. Come, come, tell the truth.

Fr. Russell. That I will, and the naked truth.

The local gentry purposely volunteered to serve on the jury and threw out the accusation.[2]

[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 2.

[2] MS., S. Dominic's Priory, London.

Father Albert Anderson[1] was another of much influence in London among Catholics, and was a private and confidential friend to Charles II. His main literary productions were pamphlets against the power of the Pope over temporal princes. But his rather liberal opinions on this and on the matter of the oath of allegiance brought down on him the hostility of other and stricter Catholics, though he, too, was put in Newgate during the Titus Oates panic. His tempestuous replies at his trial provoked against him the judge and jury, and he was condemned to death and quartering. This judgement was solemnly passed on him in court, though the execution of it was considerably delayed, until the good friar petitioned Charles II for his speedy martyrdom; but Charles commuted his death penalty to transportation for life. Anderson, however, returned to London a few years later, where he laboured assiduously till his death in 1710.

Another Dominican, Father Peter Atwood,[2] had actually begun his journey to Tyburn, having just got on to the sledge so as to be drawn to execution, when a reprieve arrived from Charles, and he was set at liberty. But he wept bitterly his loss. One who knew him has left on record the persistent regrets and tears that for all the rest of his days marked his disappointment: "Which I myself have heard him do with much vehemence and concern."

The Court of Queen Catherine was the centre of a good deal of English Catholic life, and the Dominicans had their share also in her patronage. Father Thomas Howard had secured Father Ambrose Grymes[3] (who, but for his faith had been Sir Richard Grymes of Netherby), a chaplaincy at Somerset House as Preacher in Ordinary to the Dowager Queen. There he remained till the break up of the establishment in 1692. Father Raymund Greene[4] was another who both in Windsor and London lived in the household of the King; but this he had done from his childhood, being received into the Catholic Church at the age of sixteen by Father Thomas Howard. Towards him, too, Charles II always bore an affectionate remembrance.

That this remembrance won loyalty in distressful times was evidenced by the finding of Father Pius Littleton among the Stuart followers in 1715. When at Preston the Hanoverian troops were searching out the fugitive rebels, he put on a blue apron and went behind an apothecary's counter, whereby he passed for the chemist's assistant and so got off. Life, however, was evidently made difficult for him, for he appears to have passed over to Ireland.[5] The registers of the convent speak of him as dying in 1723, but note that this

[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[5] Patten, *History of the late Rebellion*, p. 132.

official "death" was never believed, and "rumour made him live another eleven months." It was through James III, as the Dominican records always style him, that another English friar climbed to eminence, for Father Dominic Williams was apparently a rather effective Jacobite agent, both in England and abroad.[1] Indeed, as far as can be discovered the whole English Province was engaged in the cause of both the old Pretender and Prince Charlie. Friars and nuns became the centre of much correspondence which was in those times highly treasonable. One of the Spellekens' sisters was sought for in marriage by the gay Prince, and Rome was willing to dispense her vows, but the good nun herself steadily refused. In return no doubt for the vague compliment of this royal proposal, Sister Rose Howard became a great Jacobite centre of correspondence, which alas! by later prioresses bent on tidiness rather than historical record, has been destroyed.[2] Father Dominic Williams[3] was another of these Stuart followers, and through James III was nominated Vicar-Apostolic of the northern district on the death of Bishop Witham in 1725. Benedict XIII, himself a friar preacher, personally consecrated the new prelate. There was the usual opposition and intrigue, but the Pope was firm in his appointment. From Rome by slow stages the Bishop moved towards England. His work was just the pastoral wandering life of the northern Bishops, and the record of his journeys is a record of visitations to his priests, his chief Catholic landowners, and his confirmations in the towns and villages through which he passed, accompanied by one of his own brethren, or sometimes by his younger brother, who was a Jesuit. With him, as a frequent companion, was Father Thomas Worthington,[4] who as Provincial did exceedingly zealous work, and it was he who organized the Provincial Chapters in 1730. A good deal of Father Worthington's time was spent in the north, but London, too, knew him as a leading light among the Catholic clergy. Among his own brethren he was, after Cardinal Howard, the most effective superior, for his interests were wide, and his personal character lovable. The records of the past that he could gather were carefully collected, and his beautiful handwriting has preserved for us much that would otherwise have been lost. With Father John Martin,[5] a son of Sir Roger Martin of Long Melford, he has left us, more than any other, the accounts of such early traditions as the Province still treasures of the pre-Reformation days. Through him and Father Mar-

[1] *Merry England*, Nov. and Dec., 1887.
[2] Gilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, 1558-1790, vol. i, pp. 417-420.
[3] *Merry England*, Nov. and Dec., 1887.
[4] *Ibid.*, Nov. and Dec., 1888.
[5] *Obituary Notices*, p. 17.

tin, these traditions were at last set down and preserved in the archives of the Province. However, Father Martin's manuscripts are a great deal more copious than Father Worthington's, and being encumbered with no official responsibilities he had more time to devote to his historical labours. Certainly, between them they amassed a very large amount of material, out of which alone the history of the Province could be written. It is this fund of record which Father Raymund Palmer copied out, corrected, and confirmed, and which now immensely added to, forms a series of eight folio volumes, each of seven hundred pages, written in a clear and beautiful handwriting. To these three alone is due the possibility of even so slight a record as this volume is.

Another English friar whom it is of interest to note, though he did not actively fill a large part in the story of the Province, was Fr. Thomas Dryden, by right Sir Erasmus Dryden.[1] His two elder brothers, sons of "Glorious John," the great poet Laureate of the Stuarts, died; Charles being drowned at Datchet Ferry when attempting for a third consecutive time to swim across the Thames, and John of pleurisy in Rome. To the convent of Bornhem Erasmus Dryden turned, and thence went to Rome, and finally to the English mission, where London first, then Canons Ashby, the family seat of the Drydens, were the scenes of his labours. The property never came to him on his uncle's death, for his Catholic faith was prejudice to that; but he lived the last years of his life from 1708 to 1710 at the old house at Ashby. Consumption settled on his lungs and caused him to linger on in weakness, his mind becoming affected in the progress of the disease. Here Fr. Thomas Worthington as Provincial visited him on his deathbed and gave him the Dominican blessings, for already by a neighbouring priest the last Sacraments had been administered. A few days later he died and was buried in the old church of Canons Ashby.

The story of Fr. Dryden, dying dispossessed of lands and wealth because of his faith, reminds us of the perils of those times. The fragment of a letter written from London by a foreigner[2] describes the state of Fr. Albert Lovell who was labouring in the capital as chaplain to an embassy: "Dear Friends, poor Lovell is at last to be taken up, upon which he is forced to abscond in the country. He begs for God's sake his condition may be made known to the Count of Bornhem, for unless he assists him as in conscience bound, the poor man must be forced to come over, for one that cannot seek out bread must have money at home. I am sure the man does not fear, but prudence teaches us all to fly danger. The

[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 8.

[2] The actual letter, tattered and frayed, still survives in the archives S. Dominic's Priory, London.

ambassador can't protect him though he is loth to part with him, and promises to accept him when the danger is over, which by Christmas I hope will be. In the meantime let all his friends know his condition." The note, still in the English archives, reads as though Fr. Lovell expected the Count of Bornhem to send him money to enable him to live as soon as he was discharged by the ambassador; but as we find him back in Flanders shortly after, as indeed here he threatens, it would seem that the Count did nothing, and Lovell was forced to suspend his labours.

Again, the London *Evening Post* (24 December 1745) refers to another Dominican, showing us even at that date the inconveniences of Catholic life.[1] "Last Sunday (22 December) several gentlemen in the commission of the peace for the county of Surrey, two of them being Deputy Lieutenants, accompanied by others on horseback, making in all about thirty, surrounded the house of Lady Petre at Lower Cheame, a little before daybreak, and having got admittance partly by force, proceeded to search the same, but found only two pairs of pistols, and a man concealed between the ceiling of the garrets and the rafters, who had only a shirt, a night-gown, and a night-cap on; upon examination he appeared to have been born at Tickel in Yorkshire, and brought up a Popish priest near Antwerp. He prevaricated much, said his name was Joseph Morgan, whereas he appears to be Morgan Hansby, and that he had officiated as priest in the family where he was taken for many years. They brought him and three horses about noon to Croydon. The occasion of this search, which was contrived and executed with the utmost secrecy, was owing to the great uneasiness of the inhabitants of all the adjacent villages who firmly believed that great numbers of men, horse, and arms were concealed there in subterraneous passages, etc., but on the most diligent search that could be made in the space of four hours nothing more was discovered than above related." Poor Fr. Hansbie had not prevaricated at all about his name, for Joseph was his religious, though Morgan his Christian, name.[2] He belonged to a Catholic family living at Tickhill Castle in Yorkshire. After this exciting episode (which, as already stated, broke up the possibility of a Provincial Chapter for 1746) Father Hansbie came to London again, living till 1750 near the Sardinian Chapel. He is buried in S. Giles' graveyard. He too, like Fr. Worthington, lived in Panton Street, but not with Mr. Beesly. His host seems to have been Mr. Mawly. Other London addresses of the English Dominicans about this date were in "Dean Street near Holborn," in Quebec Street, "chez Mr. Holland, Palm Street, in Matlock Street

[1] No. 2830. Tuesday, 24 Dec. to Thursday, 26 Dec.
[2] *Obituary Notices*, p. 13.

by Hanover Square," and with Baroness Petre in Grosvenor Square.

Fr. Ambrose Burgis, a voluminous writer on Church history,[1] Fr. John Clarkson,[2] whose work on the Rosary Confraternity is the original of many subsequent books on the subject, Fr. Antoninus Hatton,[3] whose amusing letters on Bishop Challoner's efforts to get the religious to surrender their missions and retire into their priories and monasteries, make still much pleasant reading, and suggest another side to the Bishop's idealistic, though unpractical, endeavours, were another group of vigorous friars. It is rather interesting to note, as typical of the learning of that day, that Father Clarkson insisted on his Dominican pupils being taught to defend their philosophical and theosophical theses in Greek as well as Latin. He held perfect fluency in Greek to be absolutely necessary for workers in the English mission on account of the learned controversies in which they were very likely to become involved.[4]

Then come two names which are exceptional in the history of the Province because of their delight in science. Fr. Thomas Norton,[5] who was in other ways a character of some force, was a zealous priest. He is known to have walked on the same day, in order to administer the Sacraments to dying penitents, from Hinckley, where he was stationed, to Leicester and back, and to Coventry and back, a distance of fifty-four miles. He was so poor that he was glad to make a little money by selling the produce of his garden, even at halfpenny worths to poor children. Urged by economy, it is related that in place of a razor strop he used his leather knee-breeches, and fared almost entirely on beans and bacon. It seems that by nature he was interested in agricultural pursuits, for while in Flanders he wrote three works, one on the best means for perfecting the wool of Flemish sheep, another on the employment of oxen in the fields, and a third on the value of the cultivation of bees. He was granted a gold and a silver medal for these, and was much respected in Leicestershire as an authority on these points. His name is mentioned in contemporary works on agriculture as advocating the use of oxen in England as more economical than horses, and as being an originator of several other agricultural experiments. His great friend, Fr. Hyacinth Houghton,[6] was devoted to the more abstract side of science, and endeavoured to make Newton's discoveries popular at Louvain University. The theories of Descartes equally fascinated him, and he was, in consequence, looked upon rather askance by the venerable professors, and his hopes of combining the new science with the old scholasticism met with cold welcome except from his

[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 13. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 21. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

own brethren. In the defensions of three of his pupils in 1780, held publicly in the University on 2 August, he boldly set forward his theories. The publication of these, some time before the event, roused so much fierce feeling and such an outcry against his orthodoxy that Fr. Hyacinth was counselled not to attend the meeting. Indeed, feeling ran so violently that he had to surrender his chair and leave for England. His views were certainly very personal; but his fine understanding soon found other outlets for its vigour. No mean poet, he wrote voluminously for the periodicals of his day; and his classical accomplishments proved of great solace to him during his mission work in England. His truly temperamental carelessness in the matter of dress nearly got him haled off by a press gang for the navy; indeed, he was already being marched off unwillingly to sea when a friend recognized him and intervened, and by means of some expenditure in the way of grog, secured his freedom.

The French Revolution, when the Republican troops overran Flanders in 1795, cut off Bornhem from the Province. Some of the fathers fled home to England; in possession of the house were left Fr. Dominic Fenwick (an American citizen), a novice, and three Flemish lay-brothers. The soldiers sacked the convent and set fire to it, while Fr. Fenwick was led off a prisoner. His nationality, however, soon secured him his liberty, and he followed on with the other friar to England. An attempt in 1797 to re-establish the priory speedily failed; and finally, in 1825, the property was sold.[1] The house at Louvain suffered a similar fate, except that the Government established in its place two burses at the University, for the use of English youths as some sort of compensation.[2] The Dominican Provincial of 1839 petitioned the Home Government that English Dominican youths might have preference over others, and as this was granted the English Province still enjoys the use of them.

The material foundations secured by Cardinal Howard, therefore, by the beginning of last century had failed. Bornhem was a ruin, the Brussels' nunnery a washhouse for soldiers' clothing, the Louvain house of studies an empty building; but the work, though seemingly so near its fall, prospered on. The nuns were settled soon at Hartpury, the school moved to Carshalton, and the fathers remained at the old missions, chiefly in the northern counties of Northumberland and York, and in the midland county of Leicestershire.

Then came a sudden blow which nearly destroyed the Province entirely—a long hesitation for fifty years, a wonder whether life could ever return to so wasted a Province, then the gradual opening out in numbers and work will bring the story to the twentieth century.

[1] *Merry England*, Feb.-March, 1891. [2] *Ibid.*, Aug.-Nov., 1891.

CHAPTER X

THE RESTORATION

IN 1806 a new Master-General, Fr. Pius Joseph Gaddi, was appointed by Pope Pius VII, and in his first encyclical letter he alluded to that blow which nearly broke up completely all the work of Cardinal Howard, namely, the establishment of the new Dominican Province of the United States.[1] On 13 April of the same year the Provincial Chapter in London, while electing Fr. Pius Potier as Provincial, noted the names of several who had gone out of the Province, and petitioned that in their places other officials should be appointed. These had left to found the American Province dedicated to S. Joseph.

To understand the crippling effect of this new foundation and the subsequent reaction, it is necessary to remember that Bornhem Priory was in the hands of strangers, that Carshalton had just been set up at great expense as a school and noviciate, and that the re-establishment of regular religious life seemed hopeless for ever in England. Politically and ecclesiastically, the English friars of S. Dominic found that they had little chance of future success, for the British Government still refused, though it promised, emancipation, and the Vicars-Apostolic were in no sense favourable to the work of religious on the English mission. Among the last group that had clung to Bornhem when the Republican troops of France entered as spoilers was Fr. Dominic Fenwick, an American citizen, who now, struck by the deep afflictions of the English Province, and with intent to help it, began to revive an earlier dream of his, the establishment of a Dominican Priory in his native land. He applied first to the English Provincial, who readily consented; to the Bishop of Baltimore, whose approval was easily secured; and finally to the Roman authorities, who empowered him to proceed on his work, and gave leave for him to take with him to his far-off home any French or Flemish Dominicans, or even any properly qualified religious from England. Fr. Dominic then addressed a circular to the Catholics of Great Britain, announcing his intention and asking for alms. Money came to him to a considerable amount, so that in 1804, about the middle of May, he was able to sail to Maryland, taking with him Fr. Antoninus Angier, a prominent member of the English Province. His immediate success naturally attracted other English Dominicans to follow him over sea, so that Fr. Thomas Wilson and Fr. Raymund Tuite petitioned for leave to join the infant Province. The beginnings of strained feelings over this affair are now first observable, for the Provincial, in letting these go, yielded

[1] The references are to letters and documents in the archives, S. Dominic's Priory, London.

only to necessity, endeavouring in vain to prevent the loss of two more fathers. By this time the Dominicans had so successfully acted as missionaries, and had taken so strong a position in Catholic life, that the first Bishop of New York was consecrated from among them, and Fr. Dominic was himself made first Bishop of Cincinnati.[1]

While in the United States things were thus triumphantly marching to success, in England the Province seemed only to grow more enfeebled. There had been one bright gleam of hope when the father of one of the refugee boys from Bornhem bought and handed over to the English Dominicans a large mansion at Carshalton, built by Inigo Jones in 1640.[2] There was some prospect of setting up regular life and monastic observance, but the attempt to practice openly religious life met with unfavourable comment from English politicians, and had to be abandoned. As a school, however, Carshalton maintained a steady average of fifty boys, mostly belonging to wealthy families in and around London. But gradually the increasing demands of the English mission called away several fathers, till at last, in 1806, one alone was left who could continue the college by the aid of salaried masters. This meant a financial drain which the Province was wholly unable to meet. By 1810 the debt incurred amounted to £6,000, which was considered so ruinous a sum that the whole establishment was closed down by order of the Provincial Chapter assembled that year actually in Carshalton. Indeed, so desperate seemed the condition of the Province, so gloomy its prospects, so few its members, that the Capitular Fathers were in favour of breaking up the English Province completely, a step from which they were deterred by the solitary exception of Fr. Albert Underhill,[3] who flatly refused to assent to the proposition, and, heartened by despair, undertook himself to educate postulants for the Order rather than see it fail for want of courage and faith. His energy inspired respect and tolerance, and in his mission at Leeds he set to work at once to redeem his promise. Before he died he had begun to gather some young men around him.

In 1814 the chapter met at Leicester, and as by now Carshalton had ceased to be in Dominican hands, the noviciate was formally transferred to Hinckley, where since 1765 a mission had been established.[4] Here in 1822 another Provincial Chapter was held, which now so far believed in its own prospects of final settlement as to protest violently to the Master-General against the proposed amalgamation of England and America in one province. It is strange that so soon after the War of Independence there should have been

[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 26. [2] *Merry England*, Feb., 1889.
[3] *Obituary Notices*, p. 23.
[4] Conway, O.P., *History of Hinckley*, for account of this ancient Catholic mission.

found people to suppose these now separate nations could work in harmony. Stranger, too, is it to note that the one who was most vehement and violent in working for this union should have been an American Dominican, who had previously been a British officer. This eccentric but forcible friar, Fr. Augustine Hill, who had been a constant visitor at Bornhem, had persuaded his wife to live on a separate jointure of £100 a year, and had entered the Dominican Order at the Minerva in Rome. He was affiliated to the Province of the United States in 1819 by taking his solemn vows for the priory of S. Rose in Kentucky, which he did "kneeling on the tomb of Cardinal Howard." In 1817 the idea of the union of the two Provinces had been first broached by the American fathers, and Fr. Augustine Hill, ordained in 1819—within eighteen months of his reception into the Order—set to work to secure this end by means of compulsion from Rome. He wrote attractively to the English Provincial, describing in glowing terms the wonderful American progress, and offered him as a noviciate, the priory of San Clemente in Rome, which he declared the Irish fathers had surrendered two years previously. His military training peeps out in his describing the convent as "within gun-shot of S. John Lateran," adding his hope that the convent will serve also as a noviciate for young Americans who, when in their own country, "so near home and accustomed to liberty are not much inclined to embrace religious life, but being sent over young might more easily be trained to discipline." Fr. Pius Potier, the Provincial,[1] contributed no suggestions over the policy of "catching them young," and declined the Roman proposal as being in his judgment altogether impracticable. Fr. Hill retorted that as Bornhem property stood in the names of himself and Fr. Wilson, both now members of the American Province, the English Provincial had only the right to claim half of the money obtained by its sale. For six months negotiations dragged on while Fr. Potier went to Bornhem to secure what best he might out of the proceeds of the public auction. In October 1820 the two negotiators were becoming very heated, Fr. Augustine Hill insisting on his claims to "poor old Bornhem," and denouncing the successive English Provincials for their remissness in answering letters. He describes the home Province of this date: "Your Province is without a convent, stripped of the Habit, aged and infirm, hastening rapidly to dissolution. . . . Under these circumstances it is pleasing to me to be commissioned to make you the proposal of a union for our mutual advantage and the good of the Order and religion in general. . . . We will educate free of expense such young men as you shall send over who when ordained shall

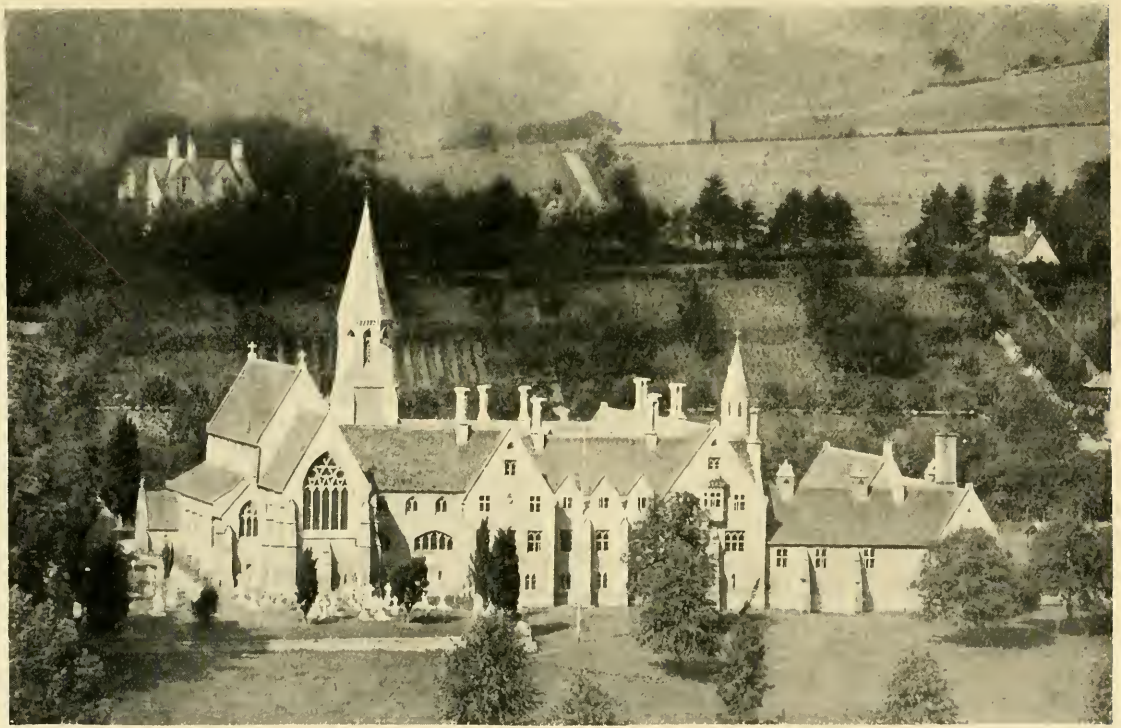
[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 27.

be entirely at your disposal"—a prospect calculated to appeal to a harassed Provincial without a convent or the funds necessary to acquire one; but the Americans asked in exchange a share in all the moneys then in the hands of the English fathers. Fr. Potier's answer was kindly but firm. He acknowledged the generous offer of free education for English novices among the Americans, and was grateful for it: "I should however have regarded this generous offer with a keener sense of gratitude had it not been accompanied by a kind of obscure menace in the following words: 'Let me beg of you to take this proposal seriously into your consideration; by acceding to it you will prevent *much unpleasant discussion*.' What this unpleasant discussion can mean I am quite at a loss to conceive, unless it allude to *our* Bornhem property, which I certainly do not mean tamely to give up, as the whole of your arguments by which you endeavour to establish Fr. Wilson's claim to that property originate in a mistake." For some more months the affair lingered on, as the Provincial was laid up in England with rheumatic fever, and was unable to obey Propaganda's command to repair forthwith in person to Rome. The feeling of the Roman authorities was wholly on the side of Fr. Hill, whose memoranda had deeply impressed them with the hopeless future of the English Province. But in May 1821 Fr. Hill left Italy for America, and his cause, deprived of his active support, was further weakened by the fatal illness of the Cardinal Protector and by the apoplectic seizure of the acting Master-General, both determined advocates of the union of the two Provinces.

Just at this juncture Fr. Ambrose Woods[1] was elected Provincial in the chapter of 1822, and his bustling energy quickly turned the scale. A brief entry in his diary sums up his whole attitude: "May 2, 1822, wrote to Fr. O'Finan [an Irish Dominican who acted in the Generalizia for the English speaking Provinces], objecting to the journey to Rome, ignorance of routine etc. Expense. Congregations.—To *Union*, Americans aliens, distance, expense of intercourse . . . to claims upon our property: individuals have no claim beyond personal maintenance. English Province exists: so long as it does, the funds appropriated are its inalienable property, afterwards applicable exclusively to English mission." His letters to Rome finally settled the matter, for though the Americans still cherished the project, and in their friendly intercourse with the English visited England to impress their views on the fathers, no longer was there any further talk of compulsion, nor were any more efforts made to claim Bornhem for America, or as part of the personal effects of Fr. Hill or Fr. Wilson.

But this controversy and the misfortunes of the Province

[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 26.



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cast a gloom, settled and continuous, over the fathers. In 1823 a large house was erected at Hinckley, and a school for a limited number of scholars established with some measure of success; but by 1832 there were only three of the fathers of Bornhem still alive, besides two foreign Dominicans who in 1794 had fled into England.[1] Since 1817 six had joined the Province at Hinckley, but two of them had died. Thus the Province was now reduced to nine priests in all, of whom five were so aged as to be unable to take any part at all in the life of the missions. Moreover, in order to secure even the possibility of continuance, it was necessary to concentrate upon Hinckley, so as to obtain some sort of centre in which novices might be trained and educated. This entailed the sacrifice of many missions, some of which had been in Dominican hands for many years. These were now, by an act of sacrifice whereby the future Province and not the actual was unselfishly considered, surrendered to the Vicars Apostolic for the use of the secular clergy. In 1830 Hexham was given up, in 1833 Leeds, in 1834 Weybridge. Between 1832 and 1850 four new subjects joined the Order, but the loss of seven brought the number down to six, which was even lower than it had been in 1645 when Cardinal Howard became an English friar.

In 1850 three of the Province, who alone had any right to be present, and yet could not by themselves form canonically a sufficient quorum to transact the business requisite, attended the Chapter of 1850 on 28 August at Hinckley. A fourth was added by the direction of the Master-General. The following day was occupied in discussing the affairs of the Province, particularly the place of the noviciate, since the arrangement of the house at Hinckley made the due observance of the rule almost impossible. The discussion was prolonged anxiously till the third day (30 August) as the General desired that Perugia or Viterbo should be chosen in preference to any English or other continental priory. In the midst of the proceedings the arrival of a stranger totally changed the tone, not of the Chapter only, but of the Province, and illumined with gleams of hope the English friars. An Oxford convert, who had preceded Newman into the fold of Christ, Mr. Leigh, of Woodchester Park, had come in person to offer to the fathers the church, lands, and endowments at Woodchester which he had given to the Passionists, but which they now desired to abandon. He was entirely unacquainted with any of the fathers, but had been struck by the beauty of the habit which he had seen for the first time at the consecration of the church at Erdington in the July of the same year. This attracted him to the Order, and his generous offer was accord-

[1] *Obituary Notices*, p. 27 (Fathers Caestryck and Le Febvre).

ingly made. Under God's design it is to him that the continuance of the English Province is due. A noviciate so distant as Perugia would have appealed to a very limited number; whereas, a house established in England, where the full cloistral life might be duly carried out, and whither people could come to inspect it, afforded far more chance of attracting English folk to the Order. The offer was too generous to be refused. It was accepted at once. The General's approbation was solicited. An agreement was drawn up between Mr. Leigh and the Provincial, modified, and finally completed in July 1851.

Woodchester was soon colonized from Hinckley, and Mr. Leigh lodged in his own house the community of two that took possession on 8 October 1850. Then on the 16th they moved down to the house just abandoned by the Passionists, where Fr. Dominic had lived, whose blessed privilege it was to receive Newman to the Faith. Help was obtained from Ireland to enable classes to be established for postulants and novices; the Master-General (Père Jandel) himself arrived on visitation to foster by his advice, and to inspire with that enthusiasm which Lacordaire had just lately so infectiously stirred in the youth of France, the re-born English Province. On his return to Rome Père Jandel despatched Fr. Thomas Burke, then only a deacon, to live at Woodchester, whence he began to display that wonder of eloquence destined to hold spellbound a generation of Catholics. On 1 May 1851 the first stone of the present priory was laid by Mr. Leigh, with Charles Hansom as architect. On 6 August 1853, the community moved in to the barely finished structure which was solemnly blessed on 11 August, in the absence of the Bishop of the diocese, by the Bishop of Newport and Menevia. On 23 June 1854 Woodchester was created a priory with full canonical rights, and thenceforward regular Dominican life, with elections, chapters, and the complete organization legislated for in the constitutions of the Order has gradually come into existence. Thus were redeemed the hopeful promises which in 1814 seemed so illusory to all save Fr. Albert Underhill; thus too was the larger hope of Cardinal Howard, laboured for yet seeming so near destruction, finally achieved; and thus even the far-off prophecies of the exiled Prior of Smithfield, age by age refuted, were at last fulfilled.

Even another province, American, but not of the United States, received from the English friars a welcome and a home. To Woodchester for many years came the novices of the Californian Province till their own organization and development allowed them to establish in their own country a noviciate house with its full regular observance.

By 1850, therefore, the Dominicans in England were concentrated at Hinckley, Leicester, and Woodchester, while acting also as chaplains to the Sisters of the Second Order

established first at Hartpury, then at Atherstone. In 1857 they still further progressed by opening a church and mission at Stroud. Three years later they moved to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and there also began to take over parish work. Their beginnings were made easier for them by the entrance into the Order of a priest who was already in charge of a mission in Newcastle, and who therefore, by the kindness of the Bishop, handed over his church and parish to the Dominicans until their own priory should be erected and their parish absolutely marked out. In consequence therefore of this, in 1860 S. Andrew's Church in Pilgrim Street, and the parish attached to it, were taken over by Fr. Paul Utili and Fr. Morewood.

In 1869 the foundation stone of the new church was laid by Bishop Chadwick of Hexham and Newcastle on 14 September, and on 10 September 1873 it was solemnly opened and dedicated. The Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle sang the High Mass, in the presence of Bishop Clifford of Clifton and Bishop Amherst of Northampton—both exceedingly faithful benefactors to the children of S. Dominic. Archbishop Manning preached. At the time the friars numbered five priests and three lay-brothers. Since then a good deal of development has taken place. At the Priory, where the church remains as a tribute to the genius of the architect and to the faith of Fr. Antoninus Williams, it has been found that the work has increased, and the needs of the people have perpetually to be met by new and wider opportunities given them for receiving the sacraments and attending the sacred liturgy. Now a community of ten priests finds itself not able to manage the whole district, and a second church has been built, and a separate parish cut out where two other Dominicans are stationed. Yet even so the work for souls multiplies; and a new and third church must be opened to supply the hard-working population with the conveniences of the Faith.

While in this way the North of England, which had been served so long by Dominicans, thus became the settled home of a priory where parish work was sanctified by the regular observance of the cloister, and while the house at Leicester linked Woodchester to its farthest neighbour, it was realized that London too should be searched for a fitting site. Hither also were the friars drawn by the personal and pressing invitation of Cardinal Wiseman. It was part of his policy to get the religious Orders to accept parishes, though such an act might to many seem opposed to the traditional attitude of their institute and rule. However, in a letter of exceeding pathos the Cardinal pleaded most earnestly with the children of S. Dominic to come to the rescue of souls. The Catholic Church of England was beginning to increase at a very welcome rate, and was multiplying beyond all the means then

existent for providing the "new people" with spiritual necessities; the result was that the Dominicans found themselves faced with the alternatives, either of leaving the faithful without Mass and sacraments, or of forswearing for a time their own spiritual luxuries of religious life. Thus sharply put, the alternatives ceased really to perplex them. They could only dare make the sacrifice of their personal privileges. Yet that it was a sacrifice is perfectly clear. After centuries of scattered existence in lonely missions in England, and the long fight that followed upon the setting-up of the American Province, the English Dominicans had come after a short and bitter suspense into peace and quiet. The offer of Woodchester by Mr. Leigh appeared to them to be God's direct pointing out of what He wished done, and they understood it precisely in the sense that they were to concentrate on the safeguards of religious and cloistral observance. Suddenly, when all this was settled and evident, they were asked, and in the name of principles of which the sanction and the authority were equally convincing to put themselves back for some years, to go into their parochial existence again from which as they thought they had finally emerged. But the principles were sacred, the appeal beyond resistance; they agreed to establish themselves in London.

Before the foundation of Newcastle, in the year 1861, Cardinal Wiseman first approached the Dominicans with the proposal that they should settle on the northern heights of the metropolis. His romantic and luxuriant fancy saw the religious Orders perched on the hills round London, lifting up their hands in prayer for the city at their feet. They were to be "sconces of prayer" for the city lying beneath them, flaring out their Divine Office and the mingled austerity and joyfulness of their lives in perpetual supplication for the "mart of many nations," as S. Bede picturesquely calls the London of his day. But to the work of contemplation they were to add the burdens of parochial responsibility. The Catholics of that date, we have remarked, could hardly afford the luxury of supporting religious Orders whose labours did not also include the care of souls. With this double aspect in view Wiseman approached Fr. Augustine Procter, then Provincial of the English Dominicans, offering him a parish between the existing churches of Hampstead and Somerstown, both of which owed their existence to *emigré* French clergy.

Together the Cardinal and Provincial surveyed the ground. The Provincial, with an eye to rigid economy, chose some smaller site than pleased the buoyant optimism of the Cardinal. He preferred a large open space of just over three acres that lay between S. Pancras Almshouses and a strip of land that went by the name of "Mr. Gibbon's." The long frontage that faced the unkempt Southampton Road gave

promise of great opportunity, and, as was his wont, the Cardinal used it for the text of a prophetic vision of teeming populations and crowded congregations. Fr. Procter, who possessed little emotion, and was careful to hide even such as he had, was content with the command of his prelate, and, with characteristic determination, set about the task of acquiring the property pointed out to him. By March 1862 the whole plot was bought through the generosity of a novice at Woodchester, and even earlier (27 January) the neighbouring mission of Kentish Town was taken over by Fr. Dominic Aylward, that fine scholar and accomplished poet, and Fr. Albert Buckler, just beginning his zealous career as a preacher. Within another year the foundation stone of the present priory was laid by Père Jandel, Master-General of the Order, one of the earliest companions of Lacordaire. As was only fitting, this function took place in the presence of the inspirer of the project, his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, accompanied by Bishop Clifford and Provost Manning. Not till mid-June 1867 was the priory so far advanced that the community could move into the new building, the actual date being 14 June. On the evening of that day Fr. Rooke, first superior of the little group of four Dominicans, and subsequently (20 December 1868) first prior of S. Dominic's, Haverstock Hill, blessed the temporary church, and next morning for the first time Mass was said on the stretch of ground occupied by the priory buildings. On 10 October 1867 the priory was solemnly opened by Archbishop Manning. The building of the church went on fitfully, partly because of want of funds, partly because the designs for the structure were constantly changing shape in the minds of succeeding priors, partly because no one yet had the courage, energy, and genius to carry through so enormous an undertaking. But just as Newcastle waited for Fr. Antoninus Williams to set its church a-building, so Haverstock Hill also required his presence for its accomplishment. First as Prior, and later as Provincial, he superintended, cared for, watched its growth; not as a spectator, but as the "sole begetter" of the grandeur of its design and the idealism of its height and ample proportions. Fittingly it was he who said the first Mass in it, at the Rosary Altar on 28 May 1883. On 31 May, the solemn opening took place; High Mass was sung by Bishop Clifford of Clifton, who had so many years before witnessed the laying of the foundation stone. The sermon was preached by the famous Irish Dominican preacher, Fr. Thomas Burke, then in a dying condition. Five weeks later he went to his reward. But the establishment of this priory, most of all the raising of so noble a church, gave the Province a stability and a source of energy which have proved of incalculable importance. The centre of Dominican life has swung from Woodchester to

London, and the ideal, the true Dominican ideal, of missionary life among the English people, has been seized upon as dominant in English conditions. After the long restlessness of penal times and the necessary disturbances of religious life in England, came the gradual stillness and peace, almost, we might say, the religious luxury of cloistral life at Woodchester. Under the first superiors, urged on by Père Jandel and by another French Dominican, who, like Jandel, was one of Lacordaire's earliest little band, Père Gonin, Prior of Woodchester, and later on Archbishop of Trinidad, the Dominicans were in great likelihood of remaining in their mountain fastness among the Cotswold Hills, and making up for the lost centuries by a long spell of religious peace. But the movement to London made such a reaction impossible, as at the same time, curiously enough, it destroyed the habit of isolated and local missions. For while, largely under foreign inspiration, the majority craved for the complete contemplative life then found at Woodchester, a few, who were unfitted for so rigorous an interpretation of community obligation, were driven to set up single country parishes. They could not secure from Dominican government that neat adjustment of action and contemplation which is the high ideal of the Order, and unable to endure the extremity of one, since there was no middle course, could only adopt the extremity of the other.

The priory of Haverstock Hill solved this problem by showing how it was possible to combine parochial life, carefully and conscientiously carried out, with the choral and community obligations attached by custom and legislation to the constitutions of the Preaching Friars; and while doing this at the same time necessitated the surrender of the small local missions in order to secure for it a large community. Thus Market Harborough (1847-1872), Nevill Holt (1847-1859), Haunton Hall (1861-1867), Husbands Bosworth (1868-1873), Littlehampton (1863-1873) were begun under pressure of Woodchester and given up under pressure of London.

Then with the priories of Woodchester, Leicester, London, Newcastle, and Hinckley (though this was rather the centre of a school than a real priory in the canonical sense of the word), there came a long pause. From 1867 to 1894 no single house where community life might be lived was founded or even begun.

There were, however, the two missions of Stone and Stoke, which will be treated of when the enormous development of Tertiary life is explained. Beyond these two there is no foundation (save for those small country missions, chiefly in and around Leicestershire) between Newcastle and Hawkesyard. This latter was the generous legacy of Mr. Josiah Spode, anticipated by the munificence of his niece, Miss Helen Gulson. Mr. Spode had become a Catholic, and having

no children to follow him, desired that his Staffordshire property (acquired by his mother, who inherited wealth of her own as well as succeeding to that of the famous originator of the Spode china) should come into the hands of religious. His choice finally lay with the English Dominicans, to whom by will he bequeathed the fine park and mansion, but only after the lifetime of his niece, Miss Helen Gulson. She, with much generosity, would not wait for the fulfilment of his wishes, but started to carry them at once into effect. The mansion became a temporary priory while a new priory was being built close at hand, and a noble college chapel, no mean follower in the traditions of Catholic greatness. Hither the community moved on 25 August 1898; and to the old mansion was transferred the old school from Hinckley, which, with many breaks in its continuity, could yet claim some sort of connection through Carshalton with the older Bornhem. Hawkesyard Priory itself, under the dedication of S. Thomas Aquinas, became the house of studies of the Province, where its open park and grounds, and the peaceful surroundings of English country life, reproduced unconsciously the pre-Reformation conditions of King's Langley. Miss Gulson herself lived in a little red cottage on the estate, and, dying on All Souls' Day, 1910, endowed the priory of her choice with a truly mediaeval munificence.

After Hawkesyard followed Pendleton, built also through the generosity of a single benefactor. In the busiest commercial town in England, though almost on the very fringe of its quickly expanding circumference, a priory dedicated to S. Sebastian has been built as a thank offering for the gift of faith by André S. Raffalovich. This was in 1898. The church was solemnly opened and consecrated on 19 January, 1901. To it is attached a parish, but the neighbourhood is so studded with Catholic churches, and the whole country is so considerably Catholic in the proportion of its inhabitants, that the priory forms a fine preaching centre, and as such gives ample opportunity for the cultivation of Dominican ideals. The mention of such parish houses as these suggest that there is this advantage to the religious themselves in the employment of religious in parochial life, that the Order is kept in touch with popular life. It is the constantly repeated accusation against the religious Orders abroad that they stand so far out of the whole stream of existence that their attitude, mentally as well as physically, is one of aloofness, and the consequent impression on the people is that monks and nuns are out of common feeling with their generation, are useless, and become unpopular. Here in England the Dominicans, like the other friars and religious, know as much about the lives of the people, poor and rich, as do the secular clergy. They are brought into an equally intimate acquaintance with ordinary

folk, share their sorrows, relieve their necessities, comfort their anxieties, enter as closely as possible into the lives of their Catholic neighbours.

A final touch was given to the work of the Province when Grenada, one of the Windward islands, was handed over to the care of the English Dominicans as a field for foreign missionary enterprise. Known early as Conception Island, it had been amply evangelized by French priests, who established a very excellent knowledge and spirit of faith among the black inhabitants. But through scarcity of priests the people had little opportunity of attending their religious duties. The churches were few and dilapidated, and the schools wholly inadequate, though the religious instruction was admirable. Two fathers had already for some years been labouring in Trinidad, and these, reinforced by another band from England, took over the spiritual direction of the island. At once a new spirit was introduced, and the people were grateful for the change. Churches were rebuilt, schools multiplied, religious instruction reorganized, and little chapels of ease set up in far distant places where at least occasionally the older folks could attend to receive the sacraments and to hear Mass. The Catholic population is estimated at 39,000, and the priests labouring there number eleven, so that it is clear that there is plenty of work for all. The climate on the whole is good, the people easy to get on with, and the work encouraging in the ample return of gratitude and goodness made by the inhabitants.

This has seemed to round off the variety of work of the English Province. Houses, parishes, foreign missions, preaching, the writing of books, a school, a second Order convent, afford ample opportunities for the accomplishment of the ideals of Dominican life. But there is one further development which recent times have added to the fullness of the older principles of S. Dominic, this has been the wonderful growth of the religious Tertiary convents.

To the mediaeval world the Third Order, as it was called, was not considered to belong to any particular religious Order.[1] It was an Order by itself. It had sprung up into existence out of a curious combination of circumstances; and was not a definite religious institute sprung from a single founder and wearing a determined habit. It was a Third Order precisely because it was neither of monks nor canons, and was earlier than the friars. It began as a loose organization of laymen, who set themselves to preach the reformation of morals. The corruption and ignorance of the clergy, and their abandonment of their duty of preaching, forced religious-minded men and women to speak publicly of what the priesthood and

[1] Cf. Chapter V, note 1.

episcopacy neglected publicly to preach. Yet, because they were laymen, that is, not properly trained with any deep knowledge of theology, nor much acquaintance with the details of doctrine, their very earnestness drove them astray. Many of them drifted off into curious heresies, and, as a result, the organization, such as it was, was suppressed by papal authority, and forbidden to preach. For a number of years the bulk of them remained in disorder, some obeying, most defying the Pope, till Innocent III, whose original and masterful mind sought all Christendom over for every possible ally in the development of the Catholic faith, thought out a plan for reconciliation. He formed out of this wandering and suspected brotherhood one branch that, as religious, was to be settled in monasteries, quiet monks and contemplatives; and another that still remained in its first fashion living its normal secular life, trading or serving or ruling, yet willing, whenever need was, to leave home and preach. Only to insure that there should be no further fear of heterodoxy they were to preach not doctrine, but morals, to preach "penance" or "penitence," as the expression then was in Canon Law. This rehabilitated Order, lay, not living in community, nor indeed in any religious house, destined for the work of preaching, yet in the pauses of such work reverting to its homely life and family obligations, was the Third Order which owed its recognition and its existence to Pope Innocent III.

Then later, as it settled in the villages of Italy, it drifted off into the quarters of the towns, and found itself sheltering under the shadow of a church. It, by natural affinity, gravitated to the churches of religious Orders, and gradually learnt to follow the fashion of the particular community near where it settled. Out of this mass grew the Franciscan Order, which found itself organized by Popes and Cardinals against the wish of its founder. The Dominican Master-General of 1281, Munio of Zamora, endeavoured to organize the *Tertius Ordo* by putting it under the direction of the Preaching Friars; the reigning Pontiff, Nicholas IV, a Franciscan, retorted by a bull attaching it in 1289 to his own religious brethren. But independently of both it went on its peculiar path, taking shape and form and habit from its neighbouring religious, becoming Dominican or Franciscan or Augustinian or Servite, as the Church might be where it happened to settle.

The Dominican branch was further developed by its amalgamation with a crusading militia that had fought for the Church in the Albigensian wars, and had fallen under the influence of S. Dominic. Under the name of the Militia of Jesus Christ, Honorius III had commended it to Jordan of Saxony, the second Master-General, through whose influence a definite rule seems to have been given it, which bound it in habit as well as in spirit to the Preaching Friars. Both the

Tertius Ordo and the Militia took up also the habit of black and white.

A third stream of influence were the nuns, reformed or founded by S. Dominic. Those established at Prouille were given a rule by the Holy Founder, which in turn was passed on to the nuns of S. Sisto, and for them approved by the Sovereign Pontiff. This rule was officially entitled the rule of the Sisters of S. Sisto *de Penitentia*, and the addition of that last phrase, which was the technical expression for the *Tertius Ordo* (because allowed only to preach "penance"), shows that Prouille, too, was looked upon as part of the same movement. Sisters then, Militia, and *Tertius Ordo* all combined to make the Dominican Tertiary.

In England, before the Reformation, there are a few traces of them. There is an old petition said to have been addressed to Henry IV protesting against the quantity of people who were entering the fraternities of the friars; but there is very little positive evidence of the early Tertiaries. It certainly appears that Edward I, Edward II, and Richard II must have been counted among the Dominicans; while Queen Eleanor herself in 1280 was solemnly admitted by the Master-General to participate in the good works of the Order, the diploma being copied carefully into the treasury receipts of the Crown.[1] Further, it is clear that it is to the English Province that the Queen is affiliated, for it is especially noted how at her death every English Dominican shall be obliged to say Mass for her soul, if he be a priest, and if not a priest then the Suffrages commonly accounted corresponding to the Mass. Again, in 1352, on 1 June Sir Henry Bohun is received into the fraternity of the Order by Master-General Simon;[2] while in 1395 it is the Provincial, Thomas Palmer, who admits Agnes Coombe to a share in the good works of the English Dominicans,[3] and John Redisdale, Provincial, aggregates Richard Benton, Prior of the Charterhouse at Beauvale in Nottingham, to the Order on 7 February 1423.[4] In this last case it is clear that there is no question of affiliation, but only of participation in the good works of the Order. A few references in wills almost complete all we know about mediaeval English Tertiaries. John Lydford, Archdeacon of Totnes, leaves 40*s.* on 12 March 1407 to the Dominicans of Exeter, because he has been admitted into that Order;[5] in 1430 William Shepper, innkeeper, leaves 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Dominicans of London, "where I am a Brother";[6] in 1438 Nicholas Grave, Rector of S. Andrew's,

[1] P.R.O. *Lib. B in Thes. Cur. Recep. Scac.*, fol. 17[b].
[2] P.R.O. *Charters of Duchy of Lancaster*, Box A, No. 214.
[3] B.M. Cotton MSS., Galba, E. XI, fol. 1.
[4] P.R.O. *Court of Augmentations*, *Cartae B*, 96.
[5] Hingis, *Register of Edmund Stafford*, *Bishop of Exeter.*
[6] Wills, P.C.C., 15 Luffenan.

Cornhill, leaves 20*s.* to the same community, "to whose brotherhood I belong"; in 1474, on 8 February, Katharine Ripplingham says expressly, and explains the official nature of this affiliation: "Also I bequeath to the Friars Preachers at Langley 6*s.* 8*d.* with restitution of my letter of their fraternity,"[2] while there is the entry of Blessed Adrian Fortescue in his account book, under date July 1534: "Given to the Black Friars of Oxford to be of their Fraternity, 12*d.*"[3]

During the long vigil of the penal days the registration of English Tertiaries does not seem to have been carried out, though there were lists kept of those admitted to the Rosary Confraternity. It is to be presumed, therefore, that Tertiaries were not received, though it is possible that a more complete search in the archives of the Master-General in Rome may reveal some traces of these English receptions to the habit. But the main development of Tertiaries in England began about 1840, and that, too, in the form of Tertiaries living in community. The *Ancren Riwle* may perhaps have been written for three women Tertiaries of S. Dominic, and a later codex of it which contains many additions certainly refers to Tertiary convents in Oxford, Shrewsbury, and elsewhere; but it is difficult to trace them in any other document, and the Dominicanesses of Dartford certainly described themselves as the only community of women in England that followed the rule of S. Dominic.[4] It seems, therefore, evident that the organization of women Tertiaries in England was not of any consequence till the initial effort of Mother Margaret Hallahan in Coventry on 11 June 1844.[5] She had previously been in Belgium to acquire what knowledge she could from the fathers and sisters there, and had come back with books in Latin, French, and Flemish, out of which, under the inspiration of Bishop Ullathorne and the aid of Fr. Procter and Fr. Aylward, she drew up some "rules and constitutions or customs for the present regulation of the Third Order of our Holy Father, S. Dominic." This was not meant to be a rigid or final constitution, for it was wisely felt that it would not do to bind the few helpers she had secured to any abstract and ideal life, until they had all made trial of it, and discovered whether it was practical, and how far in English circumstances it might not require great modifications. It was not thought possible at first to wear the full Dominican habit, so that a black dress covered up the small white Tertiary scapular which they all wore, but even the First Order at that date did not, before Rosary Sunday 1846, show the habit at Hinckley or Leicester even within the

[1] Wills, P.C.C., 15 Rous. [2] Wills, P.C.C., 16 Wattys.
[3] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. vii. no. 215.
[4] *Archaeological Journal*, 1878, p. 25.
[5] *Life of Mother Margaret Hallahan* (1869), p. 101.

house. At last, however, on 11 June 1844, a solemn clothing took place of the three young sisters and Mother Margaret herself, and on 8 December 1845 they were professed, first Mother Margaret making her profession to Fr. Dominic Aylward, who represented the Dominican Provincial, and then the other sisters making theirs to her "Prioress of the Community of S. Catharine of Sienna of Coventry." For six weeks the community, which in June of 1846 had added another novice and a postulant to its number, stayed with the Dominican nuns of the Second Order then at Atherstone (now at Carisbrooke), and then set off for Clifton, whither had moved Bishop Ullathorne (who as new Vicar-Apostolic of the western district had left Coventry for the South-West of England). Thence again they adjourned to Bristol. By this time they had undertaken the Little Office of Our Lady in Latin, and were receiving such frequent postulants that their hopes of final establishment became more and more certain. But even yet Mother Margaret felt that they had not found their settled abode, though such a sense of restlessness seemed hardly grateful after the amazing kindness of God. In February 1847 Bishop Ullathorne was formally appointed by the Master-General to be head of the sisters and his Vicar over all future convents, and the General also desired Mother Margaret to consider herself the Superioress of all new houses of Tertiaries founded under the direction of the Bishop. She made several tentative foundations as at Bridgewater and Longton; but these were given up, and even the fine convent she had established at Clifton was renounced for a greater project, where she no longer felt any of that older pain of unrest, and where eventually her own body was to lie in peace as at the centre foundation of her real life's work. Indeed Stone, whither she moved in 1852, has given its name to the whole congregation that has grown out of her work. Meanwhile, Père Jandel, the new Master-General, arrived in England on a visit to the Order, and from Woodchester went over to Clifton, where he was received with full solemnities by the community. Thence proceeding to Hinckley, he drew up with the Provincial a petition to the Holy See in his name and in that of the Bishop of Birmingham (whither Bishop Ullathorne had been translated on the re-establishment of the hierarchy in 1850) asking for a papal confirmation of the new institute. This was granted on 31 August 1851. Before this, on 31 December 1850, the whole community had finally taken on the full Dominican habit, which they were never after to relinquish. By 1853 the constitutions were finally drawn up and approved, consisting almost exclusively of passages from the magnificent Constitutions of the First Order, themselves drawn out in order by S. Raymund of Pennafort. These English adaptations, which were

never very different from the older examples, have proved of exceeding value, and have been adapted not only by congregations of Tertiaries in English-speaking lands, as California, the United States, Australia, South Africa, but also in Chili and Germany, and thus has the sanction of the Order been confirmed by "the sincerest form of flattery." This was completed by an official approbation of the Holy See in 1877. The little company that Mother Margaret founded has on all sides shot out its branches of work and labour. Mother Francis Raphael Drane, her second successor, gave the congregation an immense reputation by her extraordinary genius of mind and soul, and Mother Rose Columba Adams, another of Mother Margaret's favourite daughters, carried over beyond the seas, into the new continent of Australia, the zeal, energy, faith, courage, and general desire for teaching the Gospel which the Mother had so generously shown and practised.

After this huge effort of Mother Margaret, whose adventures must be read in the life of her composed by Mother Drane, the work was made easier for others to follow. Under the direct impulse of the Dominican Fathers of Woodchester, Mother Theresa Matthews built up the congregation of S. Rose at Stroud, begun in 1862, solemnly approved by the Holy See in 1896; while in Harrow Mother Bathurst inaugurated the congregation of Our Lady of the Rosary. Other congregations grew up, some by separation from a foreign branch, as did the nuns of Portobello Road in West London, or those of West Grinstead, some starting for themselves alone, and gradually forming into new works and for new purposes. Not all these are finally approved, but all are endeavouring to find fresh outlets for that burning spirit of apostolic zeal which S. Dominic himself long strove to practise, and finally bequeathed to his children.

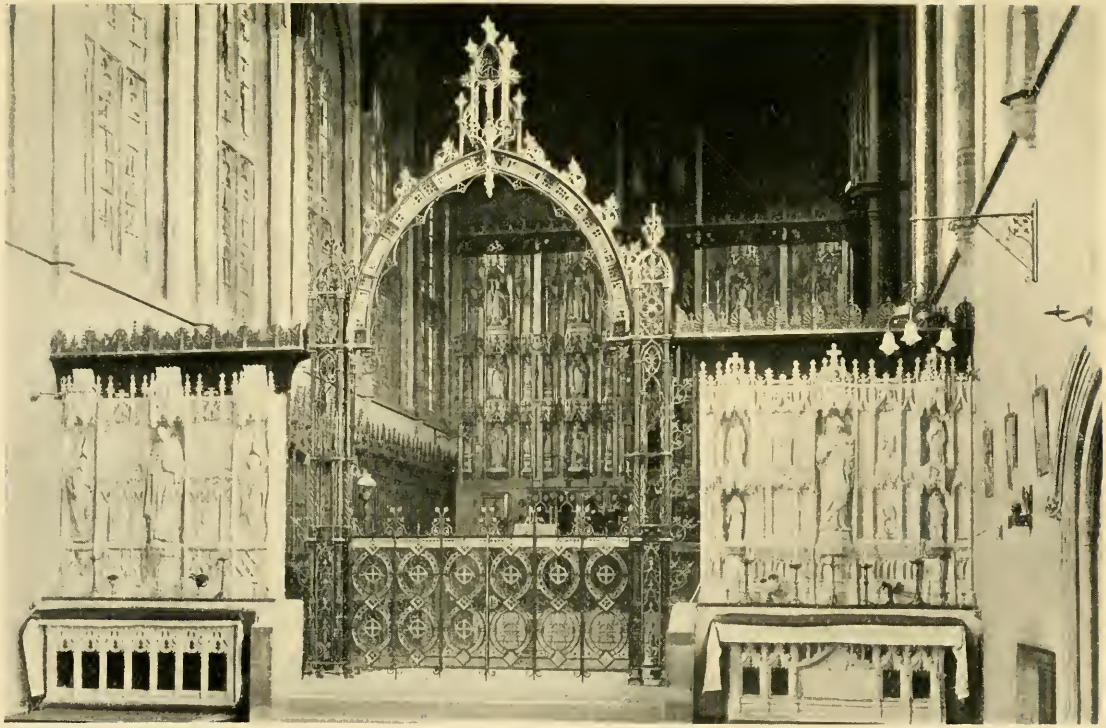
Of the large number of Dominican lay Tertiaries in England it is not possible to speak; the strict conditions required for membership, for it is a real Order and no mere confraternity, must necessarily and rightly prevent any very extensive popularity. Popularity in such a case would mean an emptying of whatever really was of value. Consequently, there has been little attempt to organize these children of S. Dominic, though it is possible that coming years will see a development of Tertiary life as an aid in the task of instruction, which the increasing multiplication of converts will necessitate in England.

But while in this way the Third Order, in its various forms, was spreading in the English Province, the fathers themselves were taking a larger place, too, in English Catholic life. Woodchester itself became the centre of much literary work, for around picturesque church and priory, in the beautiful Stroud valley, and along the chalk hills of the Cotswolds,

were gathered families of the Oxford convert movement. From Leicester Father Caestryck, a Belgian Dominican who had come to help his English brethren, was evangelizing the neighbouring villages and bringing into the Church Ambrose Phillips de Lisle. The work of missions to Catholics was also developing under the zealous care of Fr. Bertrand Wilberforce, Fr. Pius Cavanagh, Fr. Albert Buckler, and Fr. John Procter, to name only the dead. Others, too, helped in the general advancement of the Church, dictating a niceness in the choral chaunt, in the artistic refinement of decoration, and in the more splendid and more worthily built churches dedicated to the service of the Church.

The old troubles were passing, had passed, and out of the fire, newborn, came the English Province of S. Dominic.

Almost seven hundred years have come and gone since the first coming to England of the friars, a band of thirteen, unknown, strange, until one had preached in place of Cardinal Stephen Langton on the festival of the Transfiguration in the Cathedral of Canterbury. The sermon of the friar, whether by its eloquence or its earnestness, had touched the Primate, so that ever after he was their father and friend. Indeed, the Friars Preachers had need of such protection, for their ways were often blocked by the older Orders and by the action of many of the priests, who were afraid of these new religious without enclosure or stability in the monastic meaning of the phrase. Jealousy was by no means the only motive of opposition; but many stood by them in all their troubles, and proved loyal friends. Later came royal support, which was all-powerful while it lasted; and there was hardly a priory all England through that did not look to one king or another as founder or munificent benefactor. Men as dissimilar as Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches, as Simon de Montfort and Piers Gaveston, as Richard II and Henry IV, turned to them for counsel and for the ghostly direction of their souls. From de Burgh, by will, they inherited Whitehall, from de Montfort the Priory of Leicester, from Gaveston's memory the richest friary in England, their noviciate house at King's Langley. Edward II loved them and confessed to them; while Thomas of Lancaster, in revolt against Edward, when beheaded by royal orders after the battle of Boroughbridge, had his last hours comforted by a Blackfriar. Peter des Roches of Winchester, a scandalous prelate of foreign birth and sympathies, was equalled, indeed, surpassed, in devotion to the Order by Robert Grosseteste, learned, pious, English, the famous professor of Oxford and Bishop of Lincoln. Henry III and his finer son and successor, Edward I, were the first Plantagenets when the Dominicans came, and till that greatest of English royal houses fell in the murder of their last repre-



HAWKESYARD CHAPEL: REREDOS AND CHOIR SCREEN

DOMINICAN HOUSE OF STUDIES

[To face p. 214

sentative, it was in the Order of S. Dominic that it found its spiritual help. The house of Lancaster, crafty, unstable, usurping, turned to Carmelites and Franciscans, the house of York and Tudor to the secular priesthood; but the wildest, fiercest, noblest of all the kings since the Normans, found in the brethren of S. Thomas Aquinas their guides, philosophers, and friends.

Following the design of their founder, the first English priory was established by the friars at Oxford, where their arrival was immediately followed by the opening of schools for philosophy and theology. Here by opposition they stimulated Walter of Merton to adopt the college system, and thus to introduce it to the University, and were of such influence that for a whole generation all public and official disputations and acts were carried on within their walls. Then when the University learnt naturally to resent this and to desire that these should be transferred to the University church of S. Mary's, the long struggle that ensued, in which King and Pope and Primate and Parliament were successively appealed to, kept the Preaching Friars at least before public notice. A controversy meant always that the English Dominicans were being kept up to the fighting pitch of perfect condition. Earlier than this the friars had come into collision with the older professors over the new Thomistic theology, which was considered frankly pagan as the creation of Aristotle. Peckham of Canterbury, an old Oxford professor, appealed to Pope and Cardinals, pamphlets were published and counter-attacked, schools were invaded, Provincials hotly pursued. In the end S. Thomas conquered, and took eventually almost as hardened a form of absolute dominion as he had found it himself so difficult to attack. First then over the philosophic interpretation of the Faith, secondly, over the right of the friars to teach and the privileges which their teaching had gained for them, their stay in Oxford was compounded largely of disputation.

But having by this means acquired a place in the English intellectual world, having defended their position in the centre of English life, they again found themselves attacked because of their very English customs and name. A third long struggle followed, this time between the Provincial and the Master-General in Rome; but whereas elsewhere in Christendom the central authority was striving to bring back the Order to its pristine observance, in England it was endeavouring to mitigate the severity of the rule. When eventually a board of judges was appointed by the General to sit on the administration of the Province, and was constituted so unfairly that the judge was to succeed to the Provincialate if he could prove the Provincial to have been at fault, the chief charges made were that that official had made slighting remarks about

Roman authority, and had been too drastic and harsh in dealing with those under his charge.

No wonder the Provincial was unseated and his place occupied by his judge. But in the end, after the long conflict, in which the English never faltered in their intention of forcing all foreign friars in Oxford and elsewhere within the Province limits to obey the constitutions and to follow the rule in its letter, and had for that reason refused to recognize the dispensations granted too easily from Rome, the Master-General handsomely acknowledged that he had misunderstood the attitude of the English friars, and that their method for the upkeep of religious observance was at least as valid as his own. But with the triumph of its success the English Province sank to its decline. So long as there were enemies of one kind or another, it could keep stiffened in its energy and dared not relax its strength; but since one by one its problems were solved it seemed to have lost all power of self-development, wilted, and grown small. Just for a while the growing force of Wycliffism and Lollardy roused to energy the faltering genius of the Province; then the State interfered, suppressed heresy by force of arms, removed the opposition, and indirectly occasioned the English friars to relapse into their sleep again.

With the dawn of the Reformation, once more the Preaching Friars were recalled to their purpose and their life. Several members of the Order, the Priors of Cambridge, Norwich, Newcastle, boldly attacked the new-fangled faith, though they were quickly silenced by Henry's despotic government. Had they been left to themselves it would seem as though they could have rallied and lived. But persecution broke out in the way first of suppression, then with all the bloody engines of despotic murder. Hunted and harried, banished or fleeing for safety over sea, the various little groups of friars were hopelessly dispersed. Beyond the fitful gleams of Mary's reign there came only the settled gloom of the long penal night. From 1570 to 1622 the list of organized superiors of the English friars is wanting, though it is not altogether clear or certain whether from the death of Heskyns to the nomination of Middleton there were any appointed. There were certainly Dominicans in England, though their method of government we do not know.

Then just as the few scattered remnants were ageing, and the hoped for respite under James I and Charles I seemed to be passing without any relief to the Dominicans in England, came the call of Philip Howard. In spite of the opposition of his family, of which the echoes reached John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, he persevered in his vocation and sought to safeguard the future succession by establishing abroad a priory for regular observance to be a feeding centre for the

English mission, a convent of contemplative English Dominican nuns, and a school for boys. Under his influence and tolerant personal rule, the Province grew in numbers, sent missionaries to evangelize and keep alive at home the fire of Faith, established itself in Louvain and Antwerp. Fr. Thomas himself, called to the Cardinalate, continued his fatherly interest in the Province, and thereby secured for it the right to have its Provincials, instead of Vicars of the General, in regular form. Within forty years of his death the proper sequence of Provincial Chapters begins.

But the French Revolution broke up all the Belgian establishments. Even at home there seemed prospect of financial ruin, and Carshalton, which had been furnished at enormous expense as a refuge for the boys from Bornhem, seemed destined to drag down the Province with it to bankruptcy. Then a new proposal, intended in all good faith, to help the English fathers to assured success, seemed to threaten what little stability and continuity yet remained. Prominent fathers who had held high office joined the new Province of the United States, and the enforced union of the two Provinces (almost at the moment when the States were endeavouring to free themselves from a national union with England) was considered favourably by the rulers of the Church and of the Order. Despite the vehement protests of the Provincial, only Divine interposition, as it, indeed, seemed to the English friars, saved them. On the eve of the day on which the decree of the Sacred Congregation was to be signed, the Cardinal in charge was struck down by a fatal illness and the Master-General was seized with a fit of apoplexy. The new Cardinal-Prefect and the interim-Vicar were both hostile to the project, and nothing further was ever done.

But the harassing anxiety of this seemed of itself sufficient to break the English fathers. At the Provincial Chapter of 1810 only one father refused to lose hope, and pledged himself to open a school of postulants, and single-handed to insure the Province of continued existence. His one spirit re-animated the drooping faith of the rest. A few years later and the old spirit of despair had re-entered into the hearts of all. There were fewer Dominicans than even there had been before Cardinal Howard took it in hand to open Bornhem. The debate as to whether they should continue or not was still in progress when the fathers were interrupted by the arrival of Mr. Leigh with his offer of Woodchester. It came at a crucial moment, and it saved the Province.

Woodchester meant assured life and a generous benefactor. Slowly, for ten years the Province rested. Then came the London and Newcastle priories, Leicester reorganized as a priory, the little missions of Leicestershire begun and aban-

doned, the permanent mission at Stroud, the acceptance and surrender of Littlehampton.

Again a pause, then Hawkesyard, Pendleton, and the foreign mission of Grenada.[1]

In the meanwhile the nuns, driven out of Belgium by the Revolution, sought refuge, first in London, then at Hartpury Court, then Atherstone, Hurst Green, and finally at Carisbrooke; while under their encouragement and the inspiration of Mother Margaret Hallahan and Bishop Ullathorne, the conventual Tertiaries restored the habit of S. Dominic to the streets and lanes of England.

The boys' school, after a tragic history of three hundred years, interrupted, discontinued, revived, has settled at Hawkesyard under the shadow of the Priory, in the old mansion of the Spodes.

Of the living who shall speak? Or of the future who dare prophesy? With its memory of the past, its affection for the present, and its hopes for the future-to-be, the story of the English Province of the Order of S. Dominic shall continue; for not in utter nothingness nor in entire forgetfulness but trailing clouds of glory has it come.

[1] In 1918 the English Province accepted the charge of missionary districts in the Transvaal and in Natal, and have at home bought land in Oxford, where it is hoped one day to open a large priory.

APPENDIX I

PROVINCIAL PRIORS AND VICARS OF THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS, 1221-1919

1221. *Gilbert de Fresney.* Sent by S. Dominic in 1221 to found the English Province, of which he became the first Provincial.
(*Acta*, i, 2; Nicholas Trivet, O.P., *Annales*, ed. Hog, 1845, p. 209.)

c. 1235. *Alard*, D.D.[1] As Provincial he received a letter from Bishop Robert Grosseteste in 1235. He was formerly Chancellor of Oxford in 1215.
(*Epistolae R. Grosseteste*, ed. Luard, pp. 59-63; Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, ii, 388.)

c. 1242-54. *Matthew.*[2] In 1242, when Provincial, he received a letter from Grosseteste. He was absolved from office by the General Chapter of the Order assembled at Buda in 1254.[3]
(*Epist. R. Grosseteste*, pp. 304, 305; *Acta*, i, 71.)

1254-61. *Simon*, D.D. (Simon de Hinton.[4]) Elected in 1254, and absolved from office by the General Chapter held at Barcelona in 1261, because he had refused to receive foreign students at Oxford.
(*Acta*, i, 110, 111, 117.)

1261-79. *Robert of Kilwardby*, D.D. Elected in 1261. Released from office in May 1272, but re-elected in September. Appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Gregory X, November 1272. Created Cardinal Bishop of Porto 1279. Died at Viterbo, Sept. 11, 1279. Buried in the Church of S. Maria ad Gradus.
(*Acta*, i, 156, 165; Trivet, p. 278.)

1273-8. *William of Southampton*, D.D. Elected in 1273. Died in Dec. 1278.
(Patent Roll, 6 Edw. I, m. 11; "Provincials of Blackfriars," by C. F. R. Palmer, O.P., *Archaeol. Journ.*, xxxv, 1878. Reprint, p. 7.)

[1] The abbreviation "D.D." in this paper stands for the title "Magister in Sacra Theologia," which has always been maintained by the Dominican Order. Similarly B.D. is used for S.T.B. A title peculiar to the Dominican and a few other Orders is that of "Lector in Sacra Theologia." This is the first degree, and is obtained after a seven years' course of philosophy and theology. The degree of Bachelor is conferred after seven years of teaching in a theological university, and the Mastership after a further course of seven years.

[2] A certain Henry, afterwards Bishop of Culm, in the lands of the Teutonic Order, is said to have been English Provincial about 1240; but this is due to an error first made by Frederic Shembek, S.J., who published a book on the Saints of Prussia, at Thorn, in 1638.

[3] During the first centuries of the Order's existence the Provincials seem to have had no fixed term of office, but continued until released from their charge either by the Master-General or the General Chapter.

[4] A. G. Little, in *Engl. Hist. Review*, Oct. 1918, added an appendix to this paper. He finds Simon of Hinton, Henton, or Heynton (O. Praed.) is mentioned as a writer in the Durham "Liber Exemplorum," written between 1270 and 1279. Bale, who makes him "Provincial," dates him 1360, a century too late. There is little doubt that he is identical with Simon, Provincial in 1256-61.

1279-82. *Hugh of Manchester*, D.D. Elected in 1279, and released by chapter of Vienna, 1282. He was ambassador to France in 1294, and still living in 1305.
(Trivet, pp. 302, 303; Patent Roll, 10 Edw. I, m. 10; *Acta*, i, 220; Langtoft, *Chron.*, ii, 205, 207.)

1282-7. *William of Hotham*, D.D. Elected in 1282. Released from office and sent to teach at Paris, 1287.
(*Acta*, i, 242.)

1287-90. *William of Hereford*. Elected in 1287. Died in 1290.
(*Acta*, i, 265; Patent Roll, 18 Edw. I, m. 18; *Littera Encyclica Mag. Gen.*, ed. Reichert, Rome, 1900, pp. 150, 155.)

1290-6. *William of Hotham*, D.D. Re-elected Sept. 8, 1290. He was the favourite minister of Edward I, and in 1296 became Archbishop of Dublin. Died at Dijon, Aug. 27, 1299, and buried in Blackfriars Church, London.
(Trivet, p. 364; *Dict. of National Biography*, s.v.)

1297-1304. *Thomas de Jorz*, D.D. Elected at Oxford in 1297. Absolved from office, 1304. Created Cardinal Priest of Sta Sabina, Dec. 1305. Papal legate to Italy in 1310. Died at Grenoble, Dec. 13, 1310, and buried at Blackfriars, Oxford.
(Trivet, p. 406; *Acta*, i, 322; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

1304-6. *Robert of Bromyard*, D.D. Elected in 1304. Released from office by chapter of Paris in 1306. Living in 1310.
(*Acta*, ii, 19; Patent Roll, 33 Edw. I, par. 2, m. 15.)

1306-12. *Nicholas of Stretton*, D.D. Elected in 1306. Released by chapter of Carcassone in 1312, and sent to teach at Paris. Still living in 1325.
(*Acta*, ii, 60; Patent Roll, 30 Edw. I, m. 28; Palmer, pp. 15, 16.)

1312-15. *William of Castreton*, D.D. Appointed by the Master-General in 1312. Absolved from office by chapter of Bologna, 1315.
(Palmer, p. 16, "Ex tabulario Mag. Gen."; *Acta*, ii, 84.)

1315-17. . . . The name of the friar who was elected Provincial in 1315 is still unknown. He was released from office by the chapter of Pampeluna in 1317.
(*Acta*, ii, 103.)

1317-27. *John of Bristol*, D.D. Elected in 1317. Absolved from office by the chapter of Perpignan in 1327.
(Palmer, pp. 17, 18, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; *Acta*, ii, 171.)

1327-36. *Simon de Bolaston*, D.D. Elected in 1327. Absolved by the chapter of Bruges, 1336. He was implicated in the conspiracy of the Earl of Kent in 1330, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but regained the royal favour.
(Palmer, p. 18; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 556; *Acta*, ii, 240.)

1336. *William de Watisdene*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General of England by the chapter of Bruges, 1336.
(*Acta*, ii, 241-2.)

1336-9. *Richard of Winkley*, D.D. Elected in 1336. Released from office by the chapter of Clermont in 1339. He was confessor to Edward III, who strongly protested against his deposition. He was living in 1347.
(Palmer, pp. 18-20; Close Rolls, 14 Edw. III, m. 27 d.; *Acta*, ii, 254.)

1339. *Hugh Dutton*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General by the chapter of Clermont in 1339. Elected Provincial the same or the following year.

(*Acta*, ii, 258; Palmer, p. 21, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen.")

1346-1347. *Arnold de Strelley*. As Provincial presented friars to hear confessions. He was Royal confessor in 1347.

(*Hereford Episcopal Reg.*, Bishop Trilleck, pp. 92, 104.)

1350-1351-1353. *Gregory of St. Michael*. As Provincial presented friars to hear confessions.

(*Bath and Wells Epis. Reg.*, Bishop Ralph of Salop, ed. Somerset Record Society, p. 639; *Hereford Epis. Reg.*, Bishop Trilleck, pp. 19, 20.)

1356-1361. *John of Tattenhall*, D.D. Appears as Provincial in these years. He was Bishop of Ossory, 1361-66.

(*Hereford Epis. Reg.*, Charlton, p. 61; *Calend. of Papal Petitions*, i, 370; *Burgo. Hib. Dom.*)

1364. *Robert Pynke*, D.D., was of convent of Warwick and confessor of Katherine, wife of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, in 1361. (Reg. of Bishop Stretton of Cov. and Lich., Salt Collections, vol. viii, New Ser., p. 15). Was mentioned as Provincial in a letter from the Mayor of London to Pope Urban V in 1364.

(Palmer, quoting from Muniments of the Guildhall, MSS. P. iii B. 6856, A. 266; Sharpe, *Wills*, ii, 36.)

?-1370. *William de Bodekisham*, D.D.,[1] presumably succeeded Pynke, for he was absolved from office in 1370 by chapter of Valencia.

(*Acta*, ii, 416; Patent Roll, 44 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 14 d.)

1370. *William Andrew*, D.D., was appointed Vicar-General by the chapter of Valencia, 1370. In 1374 he became Bishop of Achonry, and of Meath in 1380. He died Sept. 28, 1385.

(*Acta*, ii, 416; Palmer, *Guildford Obits*, p. 13.)

1373. *Nicholas de Monington*, D.D., appears as Provincial in Sept. 1373 and March 1373-4.

(P.R. Office, Chancery Warrants, file 1751, 5 and 6.)

c. 1374-8. *Thomas Rushook*, D.D., formerly Prior of the convent of Hereford, appears as Provincial in 1374. In 1378 he was removed by the Master-General.

(*Acta*, ii, 450-2; Palmer, pp. 21-3.)

1378. *John Paris*, *John Empsay*, *Thomas Nortebe*, and *William Siward*, all Doctors in Divinity, were appointed Vicars successively on the removal of Rushook from the Provincialship.

(*Cal. of Entries in Papal Registers*, v, 14; *Acta*, ii, 450-2.)

1379-82. *Thomas Rushook*, D.D., was reinstated in office by Pope Urban VI in 1379. He resigned in 1382 in order to accept the Archdeaconry of St. Asaph. He became successively Bishop of Llandaff 1383 and of Chichester 1385. In 1388 he was impeached for high treason by the Parliament and exiled to Ireland. He became Bishop of Kilmore, and died about 1390. He was buried at Seal in Kent.

(*Cal. of Papal Reg.*, ibid.; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

[1] *Will. de Bodekisham* is identical with W. de Bottisham, Bishop of Nantes, Llandaff, Rochester. Appears as Provincial in 1368. (*Hereford Episc. Reg.*, Charlton, p. 47.)

1383-93. *William Siward*, D.D., one of the Vicars appointed in 1378, was elected Provincial in 1383. He was released from office by the Master-General in 1393. He was confessor to Edward III, and was living in 1396.
(Palmer, p. 24, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; Patent Roll, 50 Edw. III, par. 2, m. 11.)

1393. *Robert Humbleton*, D.D., was appointed Vicar-General by the Master-General, 1393.
(Palmer, p. 24, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen.")

1393-6. *Thomas Palmer*, D.D. Elected in 1393. Absolved from office by the Master-General in 1396. Living in 1412.
(Palmer, p. 25, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

1396-7. *William Bagthorpe*, D.D., Prior of Lynn, was appointed Vicar-General by the Master in 1396, till the election of the new Provincial.
(Palmer, p. 25, "Ex tab. Mag. Ord.")

1397. *William Pikworth*, D.D. Elected at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Aug. 15, 1397. He was still Provincial in 1403.
(Palmer, p. 26, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; *Bullarium Ord. Praed.*, ii, 367; *Rot. Parliam.*, iii, 502.)

1399. *John Tille*, D.D. Confessor to Henry IV. Appears as Provincial in P.R.O. Chancery Miscell., bundle 19, file 4, no. 11, apparently in 1399.

c. 1410. *John of Lancaster*,[1] D.D., is mentioned as Provincial in Aug. 1410.
(Palmer, p. 26, quoting *Reg. Edm. Stafford, Episc. Exon.*, i, 101.)

1422. *Thomas Waryn*. Confessor to Henry V. Mentioned as Provincial on Jan. 22, 1422.
(Brit. Mus., *Stowe Charters*, No. 605.)

c. 1422. *John of Redesdale*, D.D., is mentioned as Provincial Feb. 7, 1422, when he admitted Richard of Burton, Prior of the Charterhouse of Beauvale, Notts, to the graces of the Order.
(Palmer, MSS., v, 5204, quoting Court of Augmentations, Cart. B. 96, now in the Public Record Office.)

1427. *John Rokill*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General by the Master-General in 1427, and elected Provincial the same or the following year. Living in 1448, when he was Prior of London.
(Palmer, p. 27, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; Issue Roll, Mich. 27 Hen. VI, m. 7.)

c. 1438. *Philip Boydon*, D.D., as Provincial attended the convocation of prelates at S. Paul's in April 1438.
(Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 530.)

c. 1459. *Walter Wynhale*, D.D., attended as Provincial the General Chapter of Nimeguen, 1459. He had been Prior of Oxford in 1427.
(*Acta*, iii, 268; *Munim. Academ. Oxon.*, Rolls Ser., p. 570.)

1462. *John*. Appears as Provincial, 1462.
(Brit. Mus. Add. *Charters*, 1713 *b.*)

[1] John Paris, D.D., constituted Vicar-General in 1378, was continued in office during the Great Schism by the Master-General of the Avignon Obedience; and in 1388 the same General declared John of Lancaster, D.D., to be the true English Provincial. The English Dominicans as a body adhered to the Roman Pontiff, and Paris and Lancaster both submitted (*Acta*, ii, 3, 40).

c. 1465-73. *William Edmundson*, D.D., was Provincial about 1465. He ceased from office in 1473, and died before 1478.
(Palmer, p. 28, quoting Issue Roll, Pasch., 6 Edw. IV, m. 2; *Acta*, iii, 268.)

1473-83. *John Pain*, D.D. Elected in 1473. Appointed Bishop of Meath in 1383. He was Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and died May 6, 1506. Buried in the Dominican convent of St. Saviour, Dublin.
(Palmer, p. 29, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; *Bull. O. Praed.*, iii, 648; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

1483-95. *William Richford*, D.D. Elected in 1483. Implicated in Stanley's conspiracy and condemned to death, but pardoned 1495. He died in 1501.
(Palmer, p. 29, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; *Guildford Obits*, p. 15; Baker's *Chronicle*, ed. Philips, 1660, p. 242; *Acta*, iii, 374.)

1495-1501. *William Beeth*, D.D. Succeeded Richford in 1495, and ruled the Province till 1501.
(Palmer, pp. 29, 30, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; Dodd's *Church History*, ed. Brussels, 1737, i, 234.)

1501-5. *Nicholas Stremer*, D.D. Instituted Provincial by the Master-General, June 2, 1501.
(*Guildford Obits*, p. 15.)

1505. *Robert Felmingham*, D.D. Elected in 1505.
(Palmer, p. 30, "Ex tab. Mag. Ord.")

1521-2. *John*, Prior of the Dominican Order; admitted B.D., Oxon., Feb. 6.
(*Reg. Oxon.*, i, 123, ed. Boase, 1885.)

c. 1527. *Robert Miles*, D.D., Prior of King's Langley, was at the same time Provincial. He is mentioned as such in 1522 and 1527. A book of prayers or Collectarium is still preserved which bears his name as Provincial at Woodchester Priory, Gloucestershire.
(Palmer, p. 30, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen.")

1527-34. *John Hodgkin*, D.D. Elected in 1527. Deposed by Henry VIII in 1534, but reinstated 1536.[1] He was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Bedford in 1537, and lived till 1560.
(Palmer, pp. 30-3, "Ex tab. Mag. Gen."; Stubbs, *Registr. Sacr. Angl.*, ed. 1897, p. 101.)

1555-8. *William Perin*, D.D., was appointed Vicar-General in 1555, and also Prior of the Dominicans who were established by Queen Mary in St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield. Died Aug. 22, 1558, and buried in the church.
(Palmer, *Blackfriars of London*, *Merry England*, Sept. 1889, p. 360; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

1558-66. *Richard Hargrave*, D.D., succeeded Perin in 1558, but was driven into exile under Elizabeth. He died in Flanders, 1566.
(Palmer, Merry England, 1889, pp. 361-3.)

c. 1579. *Thomas Heskins*, D.D., appears as Vicar-General about

[1] John Hilsey, D.D., Prior of Bristol, and later Bishop of Rochester, was appointed by Henry VIII in 1534; but as this was not confirmed by the Master-General, he cannot, according to the laws of the Order, be considered true Provincial (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, vol. vii, no. 530; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.).

1579, for Fulke, in reply to Heskins's *Parliament of Christ*, calls him Provincial or General of the English Dominicans.
(Fulke, *Heskins's Parliament repealed*, p. 393, ed. 1579; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

It is not certain that there were any Vicars between the death of Heskins and 1622.

1622-55. *Thomas Middleton*, alias *Dade*, B.D., was appointed Vicar-General in 1622. He resigned in 1655. For many years he was a prisoner for the Faith, first in the Clink and then in Newgate. Died in London, May 18, 1662.
(Palmer, *Obituary of the English Dominicans*, ed. 1884, p. 2.)

1655-61. *George Catchmay*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General, Nov. 13, 1655, and resigned in 1661. Died at Bornhem in Flanders, July 12, 1669.
(Palmer, *ibid.*, p. 2.)

1661-75. *Philip Thomas Howard*, D.D. Appointed in 1661. Created Cardinal Priest, May 27, 1675. Cardinal Protector of England and Scotland, 1684. Died at Rome, June 17, 1694, and buried in his titular church, S. Maria sopra Minerva.
(Palmer, *Life of Cardinal Howard*, ed. 1868.)

1675-87. *Vincent Torre*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General in 1675. In 1685 appointed Provincial. Died in office at Bornhem, Aug. 24, 1687. His successors held the title of Provincial.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 4.)

1687-8. *Dominic Gwillim* (or Williams), B.D. Appointed 1687. Died Sept. 11, 1688.
(Palmer, *ibid.*)

1688-94. *Thomas White*, D.D. Appointed Nov. 13, 1688. Died in office at Rome, Nov. 19, 1694.
(Palmer, *ibid.*, p. 5.)

1694-5. *William Collins*, D.D. Vicar-General from Dec. to March.
(Palmer, *ibid.*, p. 6.)

1695-7. *Edward Bing*, Preacher-General.[1] Appointed March 8, 1695. Resigned 1697. Died at Bornhem, Sept. 25, 1701.
(Palmer, *ibid.*, p. 7.)

1698-1708. *Ambrose Grymes* or *Graham*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General 1698 and Provincial 1700.[2] Reappointed 1704-8. Died at Louvain, Feb. 18, 1719.
(Palmer, *ibid.*, p. 9.)

1708-12. *Thomas Worthington*, Lector in Sacred Theology. Appointed 1708. Retired from office in 1712. He served three more terms as Provincial.

1712-16. *Thomas Dominic Williams*, Lector in S. Theology. Appointed Feb. 28, 1712.

1716-21. *Raymund Greene*, D.D. Appointed April 2, 1716, and held office till 1721. Died at Louvain, July 28, 1741.
(Palmer, *ibid.*, p. 12.)

1721-5. *Joseph Hansbie*, Lector in S. Theology. Appointed June 20, 1721.

[1] Preacher-General is a title conferred on those who have distinguished themselves in preaching. It dates from the thirteenth century.

[2] The Provincials who succeeded Vincent Torre were appointed for a term of four years, for this was now the law in the Order.

1725. *Thomas Dominic Williams*, D.D. Appointed a second time, July 12, 1725. Consecrated Bishop of Tiberiopolis by Pope Benedict XIII, O.P., Dec. 30. Nominated Vicar Apostolic of northern district of England, June 7, 1727. Died April 3, 1740, and buried at Hazelwood, Yorks.
(Palmer, "A consecrated life," from MS. of Fr. Thomas Worthington, in *Merry England*, Nov. and Dec. 1887; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

1726-30. *Thomas Worthington*, D.D. Reappointed Jan. 4, 1726.

1730-4. *Ambrose Burgis*, D.D. Elected Provincial by the Chapter of the Province assembled at London, April 23, 1730. Hitherto the appointment had lain with the Master-General.

1734-8. *Joseph Hansbie*, D.D. Elected for a second term, May 4, 1734.

1738-42. *Albert Lovett*, Preacher-General. Elected April 24, 1738. Retired from office March 17, 1742, and died at London, June 1.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, pp. 12, 13.)

1742-6. *Thomas Worthington*, D.D. Elected for a third term, May 10, 1742.

1746-7. *Ambrose Burgis*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General in 1746. Died in office, April 27, 1747.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 13.)

1747-8. *Andrew Wynter*, Preacher-General. Appointed Vicar-General 1747 till the election of a Provincial the following year. Died at Louvain, March 19, 1754.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 15.)

1748-50. *Joseph Hansbie*, D.D. Elected for a third term, April 6, 1848. Died in office at London, June 5, 1750.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, pp. 13, 14.)

1750. *John Clarkson*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General July 25, 1750.

1750-4. *Thomas Worthington*, D.D. Elected for a fourth term as Provincial, Sept. 26, 1750. Died in office, Feb. 25, 1754.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, pp. 14, 15.)

1754. *John Clarkson*, D.D. Appointed Vicar-General a second time, April 6, 1754.

1754-8. *Antoninus Hatton*. Elected Provincial May 21, 1754.

1758-62. *John Clarkson*, D.D. Elected May 5, 1758. Died at Brussels, March 26, 1763.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 17.)

1762-5. *Stephen Catterell*, Preacher-General. Elected May 5, 1762. Died in office at Stonecroft, Northumberland, Dec. 25, 1765.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 17.)

1766.[1] *Benedict Short*. Elected April 26, 1766.

1770. *Antoninus Hatton*, D.D. Elected for a second term, May 7, 1770. Died at Stourton, Yorks, Oct. 23, 1783.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 18.)

1774. *Joseph Edwards*, alias *Tylecote*, D.D. Elected April 25, 1774. Died at Hinckley, Leicestershire, Sept. 4, 1781.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 18.)

1778. *Benedict Short*, D.D. Elected May 12, 1778, for the second time.

1782. *Peter Robson*, B.D. Elected April 24, 1782 Died Feb. 4, 1788.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 19.)

1786. *Benedict Short*, D.D. Elected a third time, May 10, 1786.

[1] In the remainder of this list, as the dates are continuous, the year of election only is given.

1790. *Raymund Bullock*, Lector in S. Theology. Elected April 26 1790.

1794. *Benedict Short*, D.D. Elected for a fourth term, May 13, 1794. Died May 13, 1800.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, pp. 20, 21.)

1798. *Raymund Bullock*, D.D. Elected for a second time, May 1, 1798. Died June 25, 1819.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, pp. 23, 24.)

1802. *Anthony Plunkett*, alias *Underhill*, D.D. Elected May 8, 1802. Died at York, Jan. 19, 1810.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 22.)

1806. *Pius Potier*, D.D. Elected April 13, 1806. Re-elected April 13, 1808.

1810. *Francis Xavier Chappell*, D.D. Elected May 14, 1810. Died at Bornhem, March 24, 1825.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 24.)

1814. *Lewis Brittain*, D.D. Elected May 3, 1814. Died at Hartbury Court, Gloucester, May 3, 1827.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 25.)

1818. *Pius Potier*, D.D. Elected for third time, April 13, 1818. Died at Hinckley, Nov. 18, 1846.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 27.)

1822. *Ambrose Woods*, D.D. Elected Provincial April 30, 1822. Appointed Vicar-General May 17, 1826. Re-elected Provincial, May 4, 1830. Died at Hinckley, Nov. 26, 1842.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 26.)

1834. *Augustine Procter*. Elected April 22, 1834. Re-elected Sept. 4, 1838.

1842. *Thomas Nickolds*, Lector in S. Theology. Elected 1838.

1846. *Augustine Procter*, Preacher-General. Elected for a third term May 4, 1846.

1850. *Dominic Aylward*. Appointed July 20, 1850.

1854. *Thomas Nickolds*, P.G., Lector in S. Theology. Re-elected 1854.

1858. *Augustine Procter*, P.G. Elected a fourth time, April 28, 1858. Died Jan. 8, 1867. Buried at Woodchester, Gloucestershire.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, pp. 28, 29.)

1862. *Thomas Nickolds*, D.D., P.G. Elected for a third term, 1866. Died at London, May 22, 1889. Buried at Woodchester.
(Acta Cap. Prov.)

1866. *Dominic Aylward*, D.D. Re-elected July 4, 1866. Died at Hinckley, Oct. 5, 1872. Buried at Woodchester.
(Palmer, *Obit.*, p. 30.)

1870. *Vincent King*, D.D. Elected 1870. Re-elected 1874 and 1878. Appointed Bishop of Juliopolis and Coadjutor of the Archbishop of Trinidad 1885. Died Feb. 26, 1886, at Louvain. Buried at Woodchester.
(Acta Cap. Prov.)

1882. *Antoninus Williams*. Elected June 19, 1882. Died April 9, 1901. Buried at Woodchester.
(Acta Cap. Prov.)

1886. *Gregory Kelly*, D.D. Elected May 18, 1886. Re-elected April 29, 1890. Died at Hinckley, April 10, 1913. Buried at Hawkesyard Priory, Staffs.
(Acta Cap. Prov.)

1894. *John Procter*, Lector in S. Theology. Elected April 17, 1894. Re-elected June 21, 1898.

1902. *Lawrence Shapcote*, Lector in S. Theology. Elected April 22, 1902. Re-elected May 8, 1906. Resigned 1907.
(Acta Cap. Prov.)

1907. *John Procter*, D.D. Elected a third time, Nov. 26, 1907. Died in office at London, Oct. 1, 1911. Buried at Woodchester.
(Acta Cap. Prov.)

1911. *Humbert Everest*, D.D. Elected Nov. 8, 1911.
(Acta Cap. Prov.)

1916. *Bede Jarrett*, M.A., Lector in S. Theology. Elected Sept. 5, 1916.

N.B. This list has been compiled by the Rev. Walter Gumbley, O.P.

APPENDIX II

ENGLISH DOMINICAN PROVINCIAL CHAPTERS OF WHICH RECORD HAS BEEN FOUND [1]

1230 Oxford.
1235 York.
1238 Lincoln.
1239 Northampton.
1240 Beverley.
1241 Oxford.
1242 Winchester.
1244 Lincoln.
1246 York.
1247 Stamford.
1250 Holborn (Gen. Chap.).
1255 (Mentioned in royal accounts without name of place held.)
1256 York.
1257 Gloucester.
1258 Oxford.
1259 Winchester.
1261 Stamford.
1263 Holborn (Gen. Chap.).
1266 ———
1271 Northampton.
1272 Northampton.
1274 York.
1276 Stamford.
1277 London.
1280 Oxford (Gen. Chap.).
1284 Northampton and Gloucester.
1286 Beverley.
1289 York.
1290 Oxford.
1293 Lincoln.
1297 Oxford.
1298 Salisbury.
1299 Shrewsbury.
1300 Lincoln.
1302 Bristol.
1303 Pontefract.
1304 Lynn.
1305 Oxford.
1306 York.
1307 London.
1309 Cambridge.
1310 Derby.
1311 Gloucester.
1312 Chester.
1313 Northampton.
1314 London (Gen. Chap.).
1315 Winchester.
1316 Sudbury.
1317 Leicester.
1318 Oxford.
1319 Salisbury.
1320 Stamford.
1321 Pontefract.
1322 Warwick.
1323 Bristol.
1324 Cambridge.
1325 Lincoln.
1326 Oxford.
1327 London.
1328 London.
1329 York.
1330 Oxford.
1332 Dunstable.
1333 Gloucester.
1334 Leicester.
1335 London (Gen. Chap.).
1336 Cambridge.
1337 Warwick.
1338 ———
1339 Winchester.
1340 London.
1341 Warwick.
1342 Beverley and Stamford.
1343 Bristol.
1344 Lynn.
1345 Shrewsbury.
1346 Derby.
1347 Cambridge.
1357 ———
1359 London.
1361 Northampton.
1364 ———
1365 Lynn.
1366 Cambridge.
1367 Warwick.
1368 Sudbury.
1369 London.
1370 Stamford.
1376 Derby.

[1] The chief sources of information are the royal accounts of the King's almsgiving.

1384 ———
1385 ———
1386 ———
1387 ———
1389 ———
1390 ———
1391 ———
1392 ———
1393 ———
1394 Canterbury.
1395 ———
1397 Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1398 ———
1399 London.
1400 ———
1403 ———
1404 ———
1406 ———
1408 ———
1409 ———
1413 (Grants of £20 for Prov. Chap. renewed for new reign.)
1423 Ditto.
1425 ———
1426 Cambridge.
1427 Oxford.
1428 ———
1429 ———
1430 ———
1431 ———
1432 ———
1434 ———
1435 ———
1436 ———
1437 ———
1438 ———
1439 ———
1440 ———
1442 ———
1443 ———
1445 ———
1446 ———
1447 ———
1448 ———
1449 ———
1451 ———
1452 ———
1453 ———
1454 ———
1455 ———
1458 ———
1459 ———
1462 ———
1464 ———
1466 ———
1467 ———
1468 ———
1469 ———
1471 Newcastle-under-Lyme.
1477 ———
1479 ———
1484 ———
1486 (Confirmation of old grant in new reign.)
1507 ———
1510 (Confirmation of grant.)
1730 London.
1734 London.
1738 London.
1742 London.
1750 London.
1754 London.
1758 London.
1762 Bornhem.
1766 London.
1770 London.
1774 London.
1778 London.
1782 London.
1786 London.
1790 London.
1794 Woburn.
1798 Woburn.
1802 London.
1806 London.
1810 Carshalton.
1814 Leicester.
1818 Hinckley.
1822 Hinckley.
1826 Hinckley.
1830 Hinckley.
1834 Hinckley.
1838 & 1839 Hinckley.
1842 Hinckley.
1846 Hinckley.
1850 Hinckley.
1854 Hinckley.
1858 Woodchester.
1862 Woodchester.
1866 Woodchester.
1870 Woodchester.
1874 London (S. Dominic's).
1878 Woodchester.
1880 London (Intermediate).
1882 London.
1884 London (Intermediate).
1886 Woodchester.
1888 Woodchester (Intermediate).
1890 London.
1892 London (Intermediate).

1894 Woodchester.
1896 Newcastle-on-Tyne (Intermediate).
1898 London.
1900 Woodchester (Intermediate).
1902 Hawkesyard
1904 Pendleton (Intermediate).
1906 London.
1908 London.
1910 Pendleton (Intermediate).
1912 London.
1914 Leicester (Intermediate).
1916 Woodchester.
1918 Newcastle (Intermediate)
1920 Hawkesyard

APPENDIX III

PRE-REFORMATION PRIORIES, WITH REFERENCES TO ARTICLES, ETC.

Arundel. Sussex Archaeological Collection, xxviii (1878).
Bamborough. Reliquary, xx, Jan (1880).
Bangor. Reliquary, xxiv, April (1884).
Beverley. Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vii (1882).
Boston. Reliquary, xxii, Oct. (1881).
Brecknock. Reliquary, xxiv, Jan. (1884).
Bristol. Reliquary, New Series, ii, April (1888).
Cambridge. Reliquary, xxv, Jan.-April (1885).
Canterbury. Archaeologia Cantiana, vii (1879).
Cardiff. Reliquary, xxiv, Jan. (1884).
Carlisle. Reliquary, xxi, April (1881).
Chelmsford. Reliquary, New Series, iii, July (1889).
Chester. Reliquary, xxiii, Oct. (1882).
Chichester. Sussex Archaeological Collection, xxix (1879).
Dartford. Archaeological Journal, xxxv, 1878; xxxix (1882).
Derby. Reliquary, xviii, July (1877).
Dunstable. Reliquary, xxii, July (1881).
Dunwich. Reliquary, xxvi, April (1886).
Exeter. Reliquary, xxvi, July-Oct. (1886).
Gloucester. Archaeological Journal, xxxiv (1882).
Guildford. Reliquary, New Series, i, Jan. (1887).
Haverfordwest. Reliquary, xxiv, July (1883).
Hereford. Reliquary, xxiii, July (1882).
Ilchester. Reliquary, xxv, Oct. (1884).
Ipswich. Reliquary, New Series, i, April (1887).
King's Langley. Reliquary, xix, July-Oct. 1878; April (1879).
Lancaster. Reliquary, xxvi, July (1885).
Leicester. Transactions of Leicester Architectural and Archaeological Society (1884).
Lincoln. Reliquary, xxv, July (1884).
London. (a) *Holborn.* Reliquary, xvii, July-Oct. 1876. (b) *Ludgate.* Merry England, April-Sept. (1889).
Lynn Regis. Archaeological Journal, xli (1884).
Melcombe Regis. Reliquary, xxi, Oct. (1880).
Newcastle-on-Tyne. Reliquary, xviii, Oct. (1877); Jan. (1878).
Newcastle-under-Lyme. Reliquary, xvii, Jan. (1876).
Norwich. Reliquary, New Series, ii-iii, July-Oct. (1888); Jan.-April (1889).
Northampton. Reliquary, xxi, July (1880).
Oxford. Reliquary, xxiii, Jan.-April (1883).
Pontefract. Reliquary, xx, Oct. (1879).
Rhuddlan. Reliquary, xxvi, Jan. (1886).
Salisbury. Wilts Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, xviii, April (1879).
Scarborough. Reliquary, xx, April (1880).
Shrewsbury. Reliquary, xxvi, Oct. 1885; Shropshire Archaeological Society Transactions, ix, 251, 266 (1886).
Stamford. Reliquary, xxi, Jan. (1881).
Sudbury. Reliquary, xxiv, Oct. (1883).

Thetford. Reliquary, New Series, iii, Oct. (1887).
Truro. Reliquary, New Series, ii, Jan. (1888).
Warwick. Transactions of Birmingham and Midland Institute (1880).
Wilton. Wilts Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, April (1879).
Winchester. Reliquary, New Series, iii, Oct. (1889).
Worcester. Reliquary, xx, July (1879).
Yarm. Archaeological Journal, xxxvii (1880).
Yarmouth. Reliquary, New Series, i, July (1887).
York. Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vi (1881).

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